THE NATURE AND EXTENT OF THE DEMANDS OF THE IRISH ROMAN CATHOLICS *FULLY EXPLAINED*;

IN OBSERVATIONS AND STRICTURES ON A PAMPHLET, ENTITLED,

A HISTORY OF THE PENAL LAWS AGAINST THE *IRISH ROMAN CATHOLICS.*

BY

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The Author's absence, in Ireland, during the progress of the following sheets through the press, which he consequently had not the advantage of inspecting, must apologize for the subsequent errata.

Page 19	line 2,	for their, read then
25	5,	from the bottom, after elections, add they
32	9,	from the bottom, for ranks, read rank
51	11,	ditto, for put, read pent
53	14,	ditto, before which, add ; an exception
76	3,	ditto, for enjoying, read enjoining
84	7,	ditto, for influence, read inference
106	13,	for cause, read course
107	6,	dele repeal of the
110	15,	for importance, read impotence
115	13,	from the bottom, for face, read force
122	4,	for 1798, read 1793
	5,	for 1793, read 1798
124	2,	from the bottom, for Swedes, read seceders
142	4,	ditto, for prest, read priests
152	8,	for Catholic, read A catholic
158	4,	from the bottom, for repetition, read refutation
182	last line but one,	for poverty, read paucity
188	5,	ditto, for that, read those
	3,	ditto, for these, read such
203	2,	ditto, for cause, read course
208	7,	ditto, for influence, read inference
210	10,	ditto, for 1797, read 1697
215	9,	dele It is stated that
	10,	after that, add the repeal of
221		dele line 13 and The three are, and substitute "T'is the same rope at different ends they twist;" and all equally
236	4,	insert before the word but, was not fully executed

THE

NATURE AND EXTENT

OF THE

DEMANDS

OF THE

IRISH ROMAN CATHOLICS.

In this age of innovation, the renowned Constitution of the British empire has, hitherto, resisted the rude attacks of foreign enemies, and the treacherous attempts of domestic foes, preserving its great barriers yet entire and unimpaired. There can be no doubt of its sufficiency to repel external assault; its durability and security can be only hazarded and shaken by its own ungrateful subjects, and the plots and intrigues of restless faction in its very bowels.—Jacobinism, the bane of the rest of Europe, has been able to insinuate its baleful influence, in some degree, into this empire; and, a short time since, boldly attempted the subversion of that constitution, the result of the wisdom of ages, and the admiration of all the civilised world, by open force. The aggression was met by the energy of the

nation, and defeated; the blaze was extinguished, but the fire remained in the embers, ready to be communicated to every inflammable material which it could be by any means wafted to.

In every popular government, faction, in some degree, must exist; it is a disorder to which such governments are liable, and in such a government as that of the British empire, it is as it were the price which the subjects pay for the inestimable benefits it confers on them. The discontented may be reduced among persons of any rank or influence, to two classes; one is actuated by disappointed ambition and avarice, and this class is infinitely the most numerous. The other class is composed of Jacobins, the avowed enemies of all religion, disciples of Voltaire, Rousseau, &c.; they style themselves philosophers, and are perpetual projectors of new forms of government, in which, however, each has his own peculiar whimsical system; and they can agree in nothing save in their enmity to the establishment in church and state, and in their indefatigable exertions to subvert it. These two classes solicit the favour of the populace with the utmost assiduity, and submit to the most servile cultivation of popular prejudices. The object of the one is the acquisition of political power and riches, by procuring to itself the great offices of state, and the emoluments belonging to them; the ob-

ject of the other is the overthrow of the constitution, and the substitution of some democratic system, in which, they vainly imagine they shall be able to secure, for themselves, the most eminent stations, and the direction of public affairs.

The united kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland is, at present, disturbed by both classes, and they have for some time directed their operations, principally, to Ireland. That great limb of the British empire, when compared with the rest of the body, may be said to labour under disorder, and, emphatically, to be unhappy. The great cause of this disorder is, that a large proportion of the inhabitants are Roman Catholics, the most ignorant, and consequently the most bigoted in Europe; their hostility to a Protestant British government, from the very tenets of their religion, is incurable. This enmity to all Protestant governments is innoxious in other European Protestant states, because such states are all despotic governments, in which the body of the people have but very little power or influence; and in which the number of Romanists bear but a small proportion to the bulk of the people; but in a popular Protestant state, Romanists become dangerous subjects in proportion to their numbers, rank, and property; their religion obliging them, as a point of faith, to deny the supremacy of the

state, (that is, the power of the state to bind its subjects by its own laws,) and compelling them to acknowledge and submit to the supremacy of a foreign tribunal. The Romanists in Ireland, on the very best calculation, do not, in number, amount to two-thirds of the people; as to property, they do not possess the fiftieth part. However, their number and enmity to the state attracted the attention of the two classes of malcontents in Great Britain; and they have both applied to them as auxiliaries to their designs; the first class expecting, in the present critical state of the British empire, that an insurrection in Ireland will embarrass, perhaps displace, the ministry, and give them an opportunity of occupying their employments, and succeeding to their power: the second class judging, that rebellion in Ireland will lead to popular commotion and disturbance in Great Britain, and tend strongly to accelerate and promote their scheme of total subversion of the establishment in church and state, and the substitution of a democratic republic. Both classes, however, saw plainly that all addresses to the Protestants of Ireland, from them, would be vain and ineffectual: they were firmly attached to the establishment in church and state, and to an indissoluble connexion with Great Britain; and never would be induced to join any scheme which, even in specu-

lation, could be supposed to tend to bring either into danger.

The Romish superstition is of such a nature, that it is impossible to procure the hearty support of its votaries in Ireland otherwise than by engaging to erect it on the ruins of the Protestant establishment, which has subsisted in Ireland since the commencement of the reign of Queen Elizabeth; the first act of uniformity having passed there in the second year of the reign of that Princess. The Irish Romanists commenced four desperate rebellions to overthrow that Protestant establishment; two in the reign of Elizabeth, one conducted by the Earl of Desmond, the other by the Earl of Tyrone; a third in the reign of Charles the First, and a fourth in that of William the Third. In all these rebellions the Romanists conducted themselves with the utmost barbarity, and the nation was completely wasted: to these may be added a fifth Romish rebellion in the year 1798; which, for the short time it lasted, and the extent of its desolating rage, was eminently destructive, and attended with as much barbarity and cruelty as any of the former.

After the suppression of that fourth great and general rebellion of the Irish Romanists in the reign of William the Third, commenced, by them, under pretence of supporting the abdi-

cated popish monarch, King James the Second, (but really with the design of absolutely extirpating the Protestant religion in Ireland, and separating Ireland, for ever, from the crown of England), the parliament of Ireland found it absolutely necessary to frame and enact laws to prevent the recurrence of such dreadful concussions, which succeeded one another, at short intervals, from the beginning of the reign of Elizabeth; and at each explosion of the volcano reduced the country to the utmost distress and misery; the Irish Romanists constantly rebelling, when the nation, in any considerable degree, recovered from the desolation and havock of a preceding eruption. Their numbers constantly encouraged them to new and desperate efforts, and their superstition impelled them to the suppression of, what they deemed, a damnable heresy, by every mode of sanguinary violence, deceit, and treachery. Self preservation impelled the Irish parliament to adopt measures for their security, against the attacks of an irreclaimable ferocious enemy, formidable by numbers and situation, in the very heart of the country. The popery laws enacted in Ireland in the reign of Queen Anne, owe their origin to a principle implanted, in the human heart, by the Almighty, to wit, that of self preservation; they were the effects, and not the causes, of Romish rebellions; they were not en-

acted till four rebellions of Irish Romanists, each conducted with most horrible acts of barbarity, convinced the Protestants, that nothing but deprivation of political power, and inability to injure, could secure them from the effects of the inveterate hostility of their Romish fellow-subjects. The enjoyment of real property is attended by political power and influence; it was the object of the popery laws, enacted in the reign of Queen Anne, to prevent Romanists from acquiring it, and, by degrees, to diminish the portion of it then in their hands; not by depriving them of their estates, but by holding out inducements to such of them as were then seised of real estates, to conform to the Protestant religion; and by dividing them, after the demises of the then possessors, if they continued Romanists, among their children, so as to prevent, hereafter, large landed estates from remaining in their hands individually. These laws were attended with the best effects. Being enacted before the Romanists could recover from their total defeat in the reign of William the Third, they were prevented from acquiring new strength again to assault the state, and Ireland remained, for a century, without a rebellion. If these laws had been continued, it would have remained undisturbed to this day; but unluckily a very active, industrious, indefatigable, and able agent of the Irish Romanists,

the late Mr. Edmund Burke, obtained such credit with the English ministry, as to persuade them that it was impolitic to keep the Irish Romanists under the restraints of the popery laws; and prevailed on them to exert all their influence in Ireland to procure their repeal, which they effected by every kind of intrigue, exerted with uncommon activity, for a period of twenty years and upwards; and in the year 1793, they compleated the business in Ireland, and conferred on Romanists the elective franchise, giving them, by that measure, a decided political interest, which they further increased at the union of Great Britain and Ireland by disfranchising almost all the boroughs in Ireland, wherein a great portion of the Protestant interest in that country was, exclusively vested, and, thereby, transferring the return of almost the whole of the present Irish representation to popular elections. By such measures, the British ministry put the Irish Romanist on an exact level with the Irish Protestant, in respect to all political privileges, save that a Romanist cannot sit in the imperial parliament without taking the oath of supremacy, and repeating and subscribing the declaration; the repeal of the obligations to do this, is what the Irish Romanists at present pretend to be the object of their political pursuit; but the truth is, they only look upon such repeal as the effectual

means of subverting the whole Protestant establishment in Ireland in church and state.

It might have been thought, by any reasonable man, that the English ministry would have been cured of their papomania, by the conduct of the Irish Romanists in the year 1798: after they had been put on a level with the Irish Protestants in the year 1793; and after all the Popery laws, of which they so loudly complained, had been then repealed, they broke out suddenly into a very general rebellion, in the year 1798, and at the first burst massacred, without mercy, all Protestants, men, women, and children, which fell into their hands: the Protestants, though surprised, flew to arms, and suppressed this rebellion in about a month, without any assistance from England. The Marquis Cornwallis, who at the blazing out of the rebellion was appointed Lord-lieutenant, did not arrive in Dublin, till the day on which the battle of Vinegar Hill was fought, sixty miles from Dublin, which completely suppressed the rebellion, so far as it was at all formidable. He was a nobleman of great honour and humanity, and seemed to have been sent over by the ministry, to suppress the rebellion, not by arms, but by clemency; for his very first measure was a proclamation of pardon to the rebels on very easy conditions, when nothing remained to be done with them, but to hunt their dispersed

fugitive parties through the country and bring them to justice. This rebellion demonstrated the impolicy of the repeal of the Popery laws; whilst they were in force the nation was quiet, and for a longer space of time than it ever had been before: when repealed, rebellion raised its hydra head.

The conduct of the two classes of malcontents, already mentioned, shew, that they are thoroughly acquainted with the ultimate views of the Irish Romanists, utterly to subvert the Protestant establishment in Ireland; and that their determination was not to obstruct them in it, for the measures of the ministry, called the Talents, afforded strong instances of their hostility to the whole Protestant establishment in Ireland. The Protestant charter schools in Ireland were instituted, in consequence of an address to the Crown, by the Irish parliament, upwards of seventy years ago, for the elemosynary education of the children of Irish Romanists, and bringing them up in the Protestant religion. The mass of the Irish Romanists, being of the lower order of the people, sent their children to the schools founded by this institution, where they were lodged, clothed, educated, and apprenticed to Protestants: the schools were supported by voluntary donations of charitable Protestants, and by an annual donation from parliament. This institution was

the most effectual measure in its operation, for reclaiming the lower orders in Ireland from the Romish superstition, that had been ever thought of, or established in that country; and was therefore most dreaded and abhorred by the Romish priests, and by such of the Romanists as were wealthy, and had any claim to rank among them; but they were not very numerous. Their friends, composing the ministry called, All the Talents, therefore determined to annihilate this institution. They first began their operations, by circulating the most atrocious misrepresentations of the design, conduct, internal management, and effect of it; calumniating and maligning the agents employed in its execution; they were rather too hasty and explicit in their reprobation of this most salutary institution, declaring openly in parliament, their intention to apply the revenues of the Protestant charter schools in Ireland, to more *salubrious purposes.*

The next measure of this Talent ministry was to diminish first, and then abolish, in Ireland, the payment of tithes applicable to the support of the Protestant parochial clergy. One-third of the tithes in Ireland is in lay hands, or are appropriations belonging to the dignitaries in the church; the other two-thirds are payable by law to the incumbents of the several parishes; but though

payable by law, the incumbents are not able, in general, to enforce payment of more than one-third of these two-thirds: the parish minister, to avoid ruin by law suits, must relinquish the demand of small tithes and dues, and content himself with what his parishioners condescend to pay him, by way of composition, for the tithe of corn and hay; which composition never amounts to one-half of the value of the tithe, and is paid, not in money, but by a note of the farmer payable in six or twelve months. As the parson is not, himself, a competent judge of the value of the tithe, he is obliged in general to employ some man, skilled in country business, as a proctor, or agent, to estimate the tithe, and make compositions with his parishioners for it. Such proctors from their superior knowledge of the value of the tithes, generally obtain more, for their employers, than the parson himself could obtain, and for that reason are odious to the parishioners: but with all their industry and skill, they never do levy near the value of the tithe, and more than the value they could not by any mode obtain, because if they over-estimated it, the farmer could compel them to draw the tenth, and refuse any composition; with which the Irish incumbent could with very great difficulty comply, as all the parishioners would certainly, to the best of their powers, impede and obstruct him, and carriages

he could not hire at any price. The Talent ministry instructed all their Irish partisans to declaim against the payment of tithes in Ireland, to represent the Irish Protestant clergy and their proctors as harpies and extortioners; and the leaders of the party proclaimed, in parliament, that they meant to make alterations respecting the tithes in Ireland. It is obvious that they did not mean to make any such alterations in favour of the established clergy in Ireland, but meant to make further reductions of the sums paid there on account of tithes; and considering the present reduced state of these payments, further reductions must approach very near to annihilation; and such is probably the ultimate design of the party. This measure, if carried into effect must be attended with the complete subversion of the Protestant church establishment in Ireland, for in the first place, the tithes being no longer payable to the Protestant parish ministers, will be paid to the Romish priests throughout the kingdom by all persons of their communion; they are bound to such payment by their religion, and Romanists are more numerous among the Irish peasantry, than among any other class of the people. In the Romish manuals, in one, particularly, circulated throughout Munster, by Doctor Butler, late titular Archbishop of Cashel, there are enumerated six commandments of the church,

which he states that all Romanists are obliged to obey; the fifth of these, is *to pay tithes to their pastors*: hence it is plain that the abolition of the payment of tithes to the Irish Protestant clergy, will be a transfer of them to the Irish Romish parish priests. The next consequence of this projected abolition of tythes in Ireland will be the total extinction of the Protestant parochial clergy in that country, for they have nothing to subsist upon but the tithes, whereas Romish priests have a multitude of ways and means for the extraction of money and subsistence from their votaries, such as auricular confessions, absolutions, indulgences, and above all the wonderfully profitable doctrine of purgatory; so that if a Protestant minister were placed in a parish, in which the number of Protestants exceeded the number of Romanists in the proportion of two to one, and if the payment of tithes were abolished, the Protestant minister would starve, whilst the Romish priest would have a comfortable subsistence. The extinction of the Irish Protestant parochial clergy, any person will see, must be attended with the utter ruin of the Protestant church establishment in that country. In such an event bishops and other church dignitaries must submit to the same fate with the parochial clergy: their business is to superintend the incumbents of parishes and their curates, and to see that they

perform their duty; when there shall be neither incumbents nor curates, their office will cease, and they will become useless; they must therefore look for extinction; the state will not support general officers when there is no army to command.

Lord Coke's observation on the effects of the plunder of the church deserves here to be inserted. Bishop of Winchester's Case 2d. Coke fol. 44. "The decay of the revenues of men of the holy church, in the end, will be the overthrow of the service of God and of his religion. It is recorded in history, that there were, amongst others, two grievous persecutions, one under Dioclesian, the other under Julian, surnamed Apostate; for it is recorded, that one of them, intending to have rooted out all the professors and preachers of the word of God, slew all the priests; but notwithstanding that, religion flourished, for *sanguis martyrum est semen ecclesiæ*. But the persecution under the other was more grievous and dangerous, because, as history saith, he slew the priesthood, or the order of priests; for he robbed the church, and spoiled spiritual persons of their revenues, and took all from them whereon they might live; and thereupon, in short time, did follow great ignorance of the true religion and service of God, and, thereby, great decay of the christian profession; for none will apply themselves, or

their sons, or any other which he hath in charge, to the study of divinity, when they shall have, after long and painful study, nothing to live upon."

As further evidence of the hostility of the Talents' ministry to the Protestant establishment in Ireland, it can be proved, that during their reign strict injunctions were issued in Ireland, to all persons under the influence or power of government, not to write or publish any tract, or even paragraph, against the Irish Romanists; and to abstain, in all public assemblies, from controverting any point contained in their petitions, or exposing, in any manner, the mischiefs resulting to a Protestant state from the pernicious political tenets, by them held as tenets, of their religion. At this very time the press in Ireland teemed with the grossest Popish libels and calumnies on the Protestant church, its doctrines, its establishments, the characters of its venerable clergy, ancient and modern, and with the most audacious falsehoods against the consitution in general; yet the Talents' government thought fit to close the mouths of Protestants, and prohibit all literary opposition to this torrent of Romish falsehood and abuse; imitating, exactly, the conduct of King James the Second, in his persecution of the Protestant prelates, and, in particular, of the Bishop of London, and Dr. Sharp, Rector of St. Giles's, London, for

their daring to repel, by argument, the bigoted attacks of (their triumphant) Popery.

It may be pleaded by the Talents' ministry, that they did not mean entirely to abolish tithes in Ireland. To this it may be answered, that tithes, payable to the clergy, in Ireland, cannot bear any deduction; that they ought to be augmented; that their scantiness has already compelled the bishops and the state to unite several parishes, and to confer them on one clergyman, for the purpose of providing him with a competent support, to the great prejudice of the Protestant religion; and their real intention may be pretty nearly ascertained by the speeches of their partisans in parliament, openly and virulently declaiming against the payment of tithes in Ireland; among other misrepresentations asserting, that they are payable to the priests of the tenth part only of the people, borrowing such assertion from a book printed in America, the joint production of two exiled traitors, which book will be hereafter more particularly noticed: and one of their declaimers, rather more unguarded, (perhaps more candid), than the others, proclaiming aloud, *that the Protestant establishment in Ireland was a prodigy in politics,* which rant was received, by the party, with manifest approbation.

If it should, however, be allowed, that the Talents' ministry did not intend, at once, utterly

to abolish tithes in Ireland, but to reduce them, I trust it is already shewn that such reduction would be attended, in a very short time, with abolition; and that abolition was the real design of the party; but they thought it dangerous to avow the design, and meant to effect it by degrees. Their conduct, in this particular, seems to be exactly of a piece with the politics of the Lilleputian cabinet, when they determined to destroy Gulliver, by the daily diminution of his provisions till he should gradually sink into debility and impotence for want of subsistence, and at length die of hunger and thirst.

Another proof of the enmity of the Talents' ministry to the Protestant church establishment in Ireland, is their determined hostility to a bill for enforcing the residence of the Protestant clergy in Ireland on their benefices. If the Protestant minister of a parish shall desert his cure, the Romish priest is left master of the field; and in every parish in Ireland, there are at least two Romish priests for one Protestant, on an average. An act of parliament had passed to enforce the residence of the clergy on their benefices in England; a similar act was, for the reason just mentioned, more necessary for Ireland; and an act, with exactly the same provisions as those of the English act, was introduced, into the House of Commons, for enforcing the residence of the clergy

in Ireland, at the request of many of the Irish bishops. It was read twice. Before the third reading, the member who had introduced it was informed, from high authority, that the Talents' ministry intended to reject the bill; and on his waiting on the premier, he was informed with no good grace, that government would not suffer the bill to pass; and on subsequent consultation with the friends of the bill, it was thought more prudent to withdraw it, than to risk its rejection. On the dismissal of the Talents' ministry the bill was again introduced and passed, though not without opposition from the party. Who will say then, that the cry against the Talents' ministry, *that the church is in danger*, was not a just cry, at least with respect to Ireland.

The zeal of the Talents' ministry to aggrandize Popery, as well in England as in Ireland, at length outran their policy and discretion. They attempted, with great dexterity, to surprize his Majesty into approbation of a measure of dangerous tendency to the Protestant establishment of the empire, to wit, to enable Romanists to fill the highest commands in the military force of the empire, as well by land as sea, and to procure the royal assent to a bill for that purpose. The sagacity of his majesty discovered the intrigue; he reprobated the measure, as a meditated invasion of the Constitution; he was as much dissatisfied

with the mode in which it was conducted, as with the behaviour of the party, when they were detected, which was not very respectful to the sovereign, who immediately removed them from his councils and their employments, and rescued the nation from their machinations. They fell with the universal execration of every good subject in the empire, and their flimsy endeavours afterwards to excuse or extenuate the attempt, were received with derision. This transaction, however, must convince the people of England, that the Talents' ministry did not intend to confine their endeavours, in favour of Popery, to Ireland, but to extend them to England also: and they ought very seriously to consider, whether the subversion of the Protestant church establishment, and the substitution of a Romish one, in Ireland is consistent with the security of the Protestant church establishment in Great Britain; and even if it be so, whether their attachment to true religion will suffer them to view, with a calm indifference, the ruin of their Protestant Irish brethren.

The Irish Romanists, in the manner already mentioned, by the intrigues of the English ministry in Ireland, and their management (not the most honourable) of the Irish parliament, procured the repeal of almost the whole code of the Popery laws in Ireland, and finally, in the year

1793, put the Irish Romanists on an exact level with the Protestants in all civil privileges, save the capacity of sitting in parliament, and occupying a very few employments, in which were vested the higher executive powers of the state; from the enjoyment of which they debarred themselves, by refusing to take the oath of supremacy, and the other oaths and tests imposed on all, admitted to seats in the legislature, and to such employments. This alteration of the political state of the Irish Romanists gave them no apparent content, though they solicited the repeal of these laws with great humility, and made the most serious and ardent declarations, previous to the repeal of each law, (for they were repealed, not at once but by degrees) of loyalty and inviolable attachment to the Constitution; but the moment the repeal was effected, the active part of them never failed to assert, that the state was intimidated into the measure by dread of their power and numbers, and by the fear of offending so strong a body, whilst engaged in a war with France; not without threats that, with aid from the French directory, which they expected, and had actually solicited, as will be hereafter shown, they would be enabled to shake off, what they styled, the yoke of Great Britain. At the repeal of each law they magnified their numbers in a ratio proportioned to what they believed to be

the apprehension of the English ministry of their vaunted prowess. They originally set out with asserting, that in number they amounted to two millions, and were one-third of the inhabitants of Ireland. On every new application they made to parliament, they added half a million to their computation, and have now the shameless effrontery to boast, that they amount to five millions in Ireland; and that the Protestants of the establishment in Ireland, together with Dissenters of all denominations, do not amount to more than one million; whereas the fact is, that the whole inhabitants of Ireland, by the best and most accurate calculation, do not amount to three millions and a half, and that the Irish Romanists are not two-thirds of them; and are of the lowest and most indigent parts of the community. The Irish Protestants are able, in case of a Romish rebellion, to drive the whole mass of them into the sea, without any external assistance whatsoever, as they are in the possession of the estates, the arms, the wealth, and the ability of the country, derived from education and industrious habits: and, consequently, have that superiority, which such circumstances bestow, over a wild and necessitous mob.

The Talents' ministry, discarded in the manner beforementioned, and now forming the first or the aristocratic class of malcontents, determined

to redouble its exertions in encouraging and supporting the claims of the Irish Romanists. No cause can be assigned for their espousing that party with so much zeal, before their dismissal from employment, save undue impressions made upon them by artful Romish agents, who magnified, in a tenfold ratio, the numbers and power of the Irish Romanists, and persuaded them that it was possible to reconcile, to a Protestant state, so large a body of subjects, notwithstanding they were bigoted Romanists; and induced them to believe, that it was indifferent to Great Britain whether the religious establishment in Ireland was Protestant or Romish. Their recent defeat and disgrace inflaming them with rage, they resolved to revenge themselves on all who had opposed their progress, and particularly on those who had succeeded to their places of power and profit; and therefore immediately joined the Jacobin democratic class. Many of them had large landed estates in Ireland, on which they had never resided. The Irish Romanists, who were most numerous among the peasantry, had procured considerable influence, as forty shilling freeholders, in county elections, issued orders to their agents in Ireland, to support every candidate for the representation of a county in Ireland who professed himself attached to the Romish interest. By these means they procured some of

their party in Ireland to be returned members of the Imperial Parliament; and such men were, by them, held forth as Protestants (though actually destitute of all religion) and converts to their insidious doctrine of conciliation. Some Jacobin adventurers in Ireland, to prove their attachment to the party, and also to gratify their own propensity to subversion of all existing governments, and to the substitution of their own whimsical and pernicious system of a democratic republic; began to vent their venomous doctrines in scurrilous and lying publications, depreciating and vilifying every part of the venerable British constitution in church and state, its economy and management, and the conduct of the persons intrusted with its administration. At the same time they exerted themselves in extolling Popery, and denying or extenuating all the pernicious doctrines, particularly those which rendered the professors of it peculiarly hostile to a Protestant government: to state, in defiance of truth, of history, and of all public records, robberies, massacres, and oppressions of Englishmen, committed and inflicted, by them, on the Irish natives, from the first commencement of the English government in Ireland to the present day; but more especially the cruelties and injustice with which the English Protestants and their descendants have treated the Irish Romanists, since the accession of Queen

Elizabeth; thus endeavouring, by every species of unfounded and malignant falsehood and misrepresentation, to excite the Irish Romanists to a repetition of rebellion, robbery, and murder of their innocent and loyal Protestant fellow-subjects.

The Irish Romanists, thus encouraged, seconded their auxiliaries with the greatest industry. The public prints teemed with the grossest abuse of the Irish Protestants. They republished all the falsehoods which had been written, by their party, since the reformation, as well against the government as the Protestant religion. All these false and libellous productions had been fully detected, exposed, and refuted, immediately after their first publication; and such of the Romanists, as retained any share of modesty became ashamed of them, they were so totally groundless. A large collection from such tracts had been made by one Curry, a Romish physician, in Dublin, and a new edition of it was published by the Irish Romanists, after the year 1793. This is styled a "Review of the Civil Wars of Ireland." For direct and shameless falsehood misrepresentation, and acrimonious Romish venom and malignity, it would be difficult to match this book in any ancient or modern times or languages; it is calculated to inflame Romanists against Protest-

ants, and excite rebellion in Ireland; and that of the most sanguinary and relentless nature.

Another book has been lately printed in Dublin and London, by the Irish Romanists, though it is pretended to have been printed at New-York in America; and perhaps it might have, originally, been printed there: this abounds with falsehood and rancour against the British government, and endeavours to inculcate the necessity of the abolition of the Protestant government in Ireland, and of a separation from Great Britain. In the title-page, it is stated to have been published by William James M'Nevin, one of the traitors who, in the year 1798, were examined before the Secret Committee of the Irish House of Lords, and appears to be the joint production of him and Thomas Addis Emmet, examined at the same time. These traitors then escaped the gallows by making a full disclosure of their treasonable operations, for the purpose of separating Great Britain and Ireland, in concert with, and by the assistance of, the French Directory; and of totally subverting the Constitution in church and state. Three other traitors, to wit, Oliver Bond, Arthur O'Connor, and Samuel Nelson, were examined at the same time; and their confessions, on oath, before the Secret Committee, are published in the journals of the

Irish House of Lords in that year, from the report of that Secret Committee.

This book, published by M'Nevin, the joint work of him and the said Emmett, was compiled during their abode in America, where they yet reside, being banished from the British dominions for life. It bears the following title: "Pieces of Irish History, illustrative of the condition of the Catholics of Ireland; of the Origin and Progress of the political System of the United Irishmen, and of their Transactions with the Anglo-Irish Government." This publication, emanating from notorious, exiled traitors, and circulated, by the Romanists, with great industry, was found by them and their auxiliaries to be of little use in the promotion of their designs; the authors' names being published with the book, damned it with every person of common understanding. It was entirely composed of direct falsehoods and misrepresentations, and arguments deduced from such rotten premises, calculated to recommend and justify the treasons, robberies, and murders, committed by the society of United Irishmen; of which any person who chooses to have a complete knowledge, may have full information by reading the reports of the Committees of Secrecy of the Irish Houses of Lords and Commons in the year 1798, and of the Committee of Secrecy of the British House of Com-

mons in 1799. Curry's book, styled the "Review of the Civil Wars of Ireland," beforementioned, had the same fate with M'Nevin's book; the Irish Romanists, therefore, and their malcontent-allies in Great Britain, soon saw the necessity of conveying the venom of these, and several other publications of the same tendency, to the public through other channels. It was very difficult to procure a Protestant to countenance such publications, by lending his name to any extracts from them; but their Jacobin auxiliaries were fit for the purpose. Many of that description, in Ireland, who had no religion, but whose parents and connexions were Protestants, and themselves in desperate circumstances, had exerted themselves already, in writing on the Romish side of the question; and it appears by the accounts of the Romish Committee in Ireland, published by themselves, that they had very liberally rewarded such literary champions; but the party concluded, that if they could seduce any Irish Protestant of rank, allured by the promised support of the whole Roman interest on county elections, together with the interest of such of the malcontent British aristocracy as enjoyed estates in Ireland, and their patronage, if they came into power, to write in favour of Romish claims, the statements of one such writer would obtain more credit in England, than a host of such par-

tisans as M'Nevin, Emmet, and O'Connor. The Irish Romanists hoped also to make some impression, on a person so circumstanced, of the justice of their claims; as men of tolerable understandings are sometimes deceived into an acquiescence in conclusions, deduced in a specious argumentative manner from premises, the truth or reality of which they had not an opportunity, or did not perhaps give themselves the trouble to inquire into; particularly as most men are strongly inclined to that side of an argument, which tallies with their interest; and to effect such a purpose the whole party directed all their arts and address.

They were not unsuccessful in their endeavours. In the year 1808, a pamphlet of considerable size made its appearance with the following title page. "A History of the Penal Laws "against Irish Catholics, from the treaty of "Limerick to the Union:" in the title are inserted two quotations, one stated to be from the speech of Doctor Law, bishop of Elphin, in Ireland, on the Catholic Bill of 1793; the other from a speech *intended* to be spoken by Doctor Watson, bishop of Landaff, November 23d, 1803. It is very well known, by the friends and acquaintance of Dr. Law, that, on the point *fraudulently styled, Catholic Emancipation,* he has entirely changed his opinion; observation and experience have ef-

fected this alteration since the year 1793. The application of the quotation from the intended speech of the respectable English prelate, mentioned in the title-page, to the doctrines contained in the History is not easily understood. If that worthy prelate meant, by the terms, *concessions to Ireland*, that government ought to comply with the wishes of the Romanists of Ireland; it only proves that he was in a great error, when he styled such compliance *concessions to Ireland*. The leaders of the aristocratic malcontents of Great Britain have certainly always endeavoured to represent the Irish Romanists, exclusively the people, or the nation of Ireland; as if a faction, composing less than two-thirds of the population of Ireland, all of the lower order of society, and avowed enemies to the British empire, and to all connexion with it, was entitled to be styled the *Irish people* and the *nation*, in exclusion of the Protestants of Ireland, composing two-fifths at least of the population, comprizing all the ranks, distinction, and property of that country; the avowed supporters of the connexion with Great Britain; the only loyal subjects of his majesty in Ireland; and in the possession of all the legislative, judicial, and executive offices of the state. If such representations, calculated to deceive the people of Great Britain, and to conceal from them the destructive tendency, to the constitution

in church and state, of the measures they were pursuing in favour of the Romish faction in Ireland have had full effect on his Lordship, the meaning of the phrase *concessions to Ireland,* in the quotation, may render it applicable to the subject of the history; but in that case, it must be concluded, that his Lordship being a stranger to, and entirely unacquainted with, the real state of Ireland, has been led into very great error on the subject of the Irish Romish claims, and that what he has been induced to believe to be *concessions to Ireland* are, if complied with, the subversion of the constitution, in church and state, in that great limb of the British empire, a forerunner of the same melancholy catastrophe in Great Britain, and an *hostile attack on the people and nation of Ireland, in the language of a politician,* and *not concessions:* the word *people,* when used as synonymous with *nation,* not signifying the majority of the people numbered by the poll; but that part of the population of a country, which consists of the persons of distinction, rank, property, and education in it, who always govern the mass of the people.

This history of the penal laws was printed and published both in London and Dublin, in the latter place by Hugh Fitzpatrick, printer to the Romish college of Maynooth; and as it is almost entirely a compilation from Romish writers, all of them

professed enemies of the Protestant religion, and government, and some of them exiled traitors; and fraught with acrimonious invective against the nation, its princes, and ministers, for a century, the animadversions upon it will be, necessarily, severe. It is but justice to declare, that it is a collection of very inflammatory materials, and the more reprehensible, as all the laws, of the peculiar hardships and injustice of which it complains, have been finally repealed so long since, as the year 1793.

This History of the Penal Laws commences its attack, as well on the Protestant government of England, as on that of Ireland, and on King William the Third, his ministers, and generals, with an account of the surrender of the city of Limerick in Ireland, and the Irish Romish army then besieged and inclosed in it; and the civil articles agreed upon by the then Lords Justices of Ireland, and the Baron de Ginkle Commander-in-chief of the besieging army, on the one part; and some of the commanders of the Irish army, named in the preamble of the civil articles, (of whom several were lawyers of eminence, particularly Sir Toby Butler, Colonel Garret Dillon, and Colonel John Browne), on behalf of the Irish inhabitants in the city and county of Limerick, the counties of Clare, Kerry, Cork, Sligo, and Mayo, of the other part. The mi-

litary articles, concluded at the same time, between General Ginkle, commander of the besieging army, and the French Generals De Ussore and De Tesse, Commanders-in-chief of the besieged Romish army, are inserted: and it then proceeds to accuse King William and the English government with gross violation of these articles; and it is asserted throughout, in direct contradiction to the very articles themselves, that every law enacted in Ireland, after the execution of these articles, to prevent the growth of Popery, and to secure the state against the treasonable machinations of the Irish Romanists, was an infraction of these articles, and a national breach of faith. The whole tirade of abuse and invective, in this work, against English and Irish Protestants, and the government, seems principally to be founded on this supposed infraction of, what the History styles, the treaty of Limerick. All the circumstances relating to it, and the comments on the Popery laws, are copied from Curry's book, infamous for its malice and falsehood, and ridiculous for its conclusions, even from its own premises, and from a book published by Mr. Plowden, an English Barrister, entitled, "An Historical Review of the State of Ireland, from the Invasion of that country under Henry the Second, to its Union with Great Britain."

It is demonstrable, from the very articles them-

selves, that not a particle of the civil articles, in all things which the King had it in his power, by the known law of the land, to execute, or to cause to be executed, was ever transgressed, but was most religiously fulfilled; but some parts of these articles could not be carried into execution without the sanction of an act of parliament, and this the lawyers, Sir Toby Butler, Colonel Garret Dillon, and Colonel John Browne, very eminent in their profession, and who negotiated on behalf of the Irish Romanists, inhabiting in the city and county of Limerick, and the counties of Clare, Kerry, Cork, Sligo, and Mayo, (six counties only, out of thirty-two in Ireland) in the settling of the civil articles, admitted. These eminent lawyers knew perfecly well, that his Majesty had not, by the known and established laws of the land, any power to carry some part of these articles into execution; and that (save by the connivance of government) they could not be executed, except under the sanction of an act of parliament. The perfect knowledge, by the Romish negotiators, of this circumstance, at the time of the negotiation, is fully admitted by themselves, in the first and twelfth of these civil articles; and all that is undertaken by their Majesties, (King William and Queen Mary) in these civil articles, is, that as to such parts thereof, for which an act of parliament shall be found necessary, they will recommend the same to be

made good by parliament, and will give the royal assent to any bill or bills that shall be passed by their two houses of parliament to that purpose; and so they have expressed in the ratification, which is dated the 5th of April, 1692, the articles being dated the 2d of October preceding. The Romish negotiators accepted of these articles on those terms, and with perfect knowledge of the terms, viz. that so far as the crown could carry them into execution they were to be executed; but that so far as their execution depended on parliament, if parliament should reject them, notwithstanding every endeavour of the crown to prevail on the two houses to approve of them, and sanction them by a bill for that purpose, they were by no means binding;—and the Romanists cannot justly complain of an infraction of such parts of them as a violation of the conditions of their surrender. The parts of these civil articles which parliament rejected, will be hereafter pointed out, but it will be, at the same time, demonstrated, that even as to those parts which the two houses refused to sanction, by a bill, the Irish Romanists have no reason to complain of any hardships imposed upon them, in opposition to such parts of these articles. As to the military articles, they admit themselves, that they were faithfully executed.

It is necessary, first, to state a few particulars

of the situation of Ireland, as well before, as subsequently to, the surrender of Limerick.

Ireland, before and after the time it was erected into a kingdom, in the reign of King Henry the Eighth, was a lordship and feudal appendage to the imperial crown of England, and, in the Irish statutes, it is acknowledged so to be: particularly in the Irish acts of parliament, passed in the reign of King Henry the Eighth, passim. To save trouble to any person inclined to examine this matter, let him turn to the Irish acts of the 28th of Henry VIII. chap. 2. sect. 1., and the 38th of Henry VIII. chap. 1. sect. 1. being the act which converts the lordship of Ireland into a kingdom; and wherein it is declared to be a kingdom, for ever knit and united to the imperial crown of England. In the preamble of the Irish act of parliament of the 4th William and Mary, chap. 1. sect. 1. the inseparable dependency of the crown of Ireland on the imperial crown of England, is acknowledged and asserted in the following words: "*For as much as this kingdom of Ireland is annexed and united to the imperial crown of England, and by the laws and statutes of this kingdom is declared to be justly and rightfully depending upon, and belonging, and for ever united to the same, and the kings and queens of England are, by undoubted right, kings and queens of this realm, and ought to enjoy the style,*

title, majesty, power, pre-eminence, jurisdiction, prerogative, and authority of kings and queens of the same." The Irish act of the same session of parliament, chap. 3. sect. 1. contains the same doctrine.

Hence the conclusion is irrefragable, that the general insurrection of the Irish Romanists in the reign of William and Mary, though in favour of the abdicated monarch, was a rebellion against the crown of England, they being rightfully and lawfully in possession of the crown; and, in truth, the design of the rebels was a separation from England, and the establishment of a separate Romish government under the protection of France. This they made sufficiently evident; for when James had assembled all their leading men, which Romish assembly he styled a parliament; one of their first measures was, to frame a bill declaring the kingdom of Ireland separate and independent of England. When this bil was offered to James for his assent, he refused it on the principle, that his assent to such a bill would ruin his interest with his English partisans, and render his restoration to the crown of England impracticable; on which, this assembly sent him word, by his Attorney-general, that if he refused to assent to such a bill, he might depart from Ireland as soon as he thought fit, and that they would legislate for themselves. Utterly

to root out the Protestant, that is the English interest of Ireland, they repealed the acts of settlement and explanation, and thus at a jerk ruined almost all the Protestant nobility and gentry of that kingdom; but to make assurance sure, they passed a bill of attainder against all Irish Protestants of property or rank, to the amount of two thousand six hundred persons and upwards, by name, cutting off all remainders, and barring all jointures and dowers on the estates of the attainted, so that the widows, infants, and innocents, were punished equally with the attainted persons in respect of their estates. This proscription was more general and cruel than any we read of in history. James was allowed, by this bill of attainder, to pardon any of the persons attainted, on certain conditions, till a limited time expressed in the bill, but lest any of them should comply with the conditions in the bill, within the time limited, and apply to James for a pardon, the bill was never printed or published till the limited period was expired. (See Archbishop King's State of the Protestants in Ireland, and Harris's Life of King William, pages 229, 230, 231.) In short their whole conduct shewed that their taking up arms was to render themselves an independent state separated from England, and that their support of James was, in their opinion, the most eligible expedient for ef-

fecting their purpose, as his interest with the French monarch, at that time the most potent prince in Europe, seemed to them the most effectual means of procuring assistance adequate to the accomplishment of the revolution they meditated. They, in fact, esteemed James a convenient and necessary tool in their hands, for the execution of their traitorous machinations, and looked on him in no other light.

This infatuated prince, during his short reign, had directed all his measures to the subversion of the church establishment in England and Ireland in favour of Popery, but as the Romanists were the most numerous class in Ireland, and the influence of the crown much stronger in Ireland than in England; and as infractions of the law in that kingdom, subject to and dependent upon the crown of England, were attempted and effected with less noise than similar attempts in England, James acted in Ireland in defiance of the laws, not only with less reserve, but with no disguise whatsoever, for the subversion of the Protestant church establishment, and the substitution of a Romish one. He appointed an Irish adventurer, one Talbot, a furious Romanist, whom he advanced to the peerage and made a duke, Lord-lieutenant of Ireland, and General and Commander-in-chief of the army there. The first manœuvre of this man was to cashier almost all the Protestant officers of the army, and to put Romanists into

their places; he was a remarkable blasphemer, constantly making use of the most horrid oaths and execrations; and when he had modelled the Irish army by the expulsion of all the Protestant officers, and the substitution of Romanists, he triumphantly expressed himself to the principal Romanists, assembled at the castle of Dublin, antecedently to the revolution in the following prophane manner, "I have put the sword into your hands and G—d d—n you and yours to all eternity if you ever part with it." Romanists were appointed judges in all the courts, and magistrates throughout the kingdom, *quo warrantos* were brought against the corporation of the city of Dublin, and against all other Protestant corporations throughout Ireland, and their charters mostly annulled, by judgments of his Romish judges. Though a few of them were terrified or cajoled into the surrender of their charters, new charters were granted to most of these boroughs; the corporators appointed were almost all Romanists; there was a very small intermixture of Protestants, of the most timid and complying of that profession admitted into some of them, to keep up a sort of appearance in England. The Protestants were disarmed by the government. (See Archbishop King's State of the Protestants of Ireland, and Harris's History of King William Passim.) By such means were the Protestants of Ireland, im-

mediately previous to the revolution, weakened, dispirited, and given up to the power of their merciless Romish countrymen, by the English government, in the hands of a bigoted Romish monarch, insomuch that it is wonderful how they were able to maintain themselves in the major part of the province of Ulster, till they were relieved and succoured by King William after his accession.

Such was the situation of Ireland prior to the rebellion, against the crown of England, in the years 1689, 1690, and 1691; during those years the Irish Romanists rose and acted in a mass, together with a considerable body of French troops, against an army of loyal Irish Protestants, in conjunction with an English army sent to their assistance commanded by King William and his Generals. After three campaigns the Romanists were routed and driven out of almost the whole kingdom, and the mass of their army was cooped up, inclosed, besieged, and driven to the last extremity in a town situated, partly on a small island in the river Shannon, and partly on an adjacent and very minute part of the county of Limerick, connected by a bridge; the whole ambit of the town was barely sufficient to contain these routed rebels. Heaped together in this most unhealthy and inconvenient situation, they were hemmed in, on both sides of the Shannon,

by the Protestant army; and a strong squadron of English ships of war, lying in the river Shannon, precluded all relief to them, from France, by sea. The fortifications of the place were contemptible; their number alone could afford them any protection; and that, under their circumstances, was precarious in a high degree. The small remainder of the rebel army, outside the town, and dispersed through a few parts of six counties of the kingdom, only half armed, almost naked and famished, without artillery did not amount, in the whole, to three thousand men, and in no one place were there five hundred of them in a body. Under all these circumstances it was notorious, that they could not protract the siege even for a fortnight, and were compelled to petition for a capitulation, and cry for quarter. (See Ralph's History of England, vol. 2, page 308.) King William, who was a generous enemy and a merciful prince, and at that time involved in a war on the continent, to rescue Europe from the grasp of that ambitious monarch Louis the Fourteenth, had given instructions to his Generals to receive the Irish Romanists to mercy; and under such circumstances was the capitulation of Limerick agreed to, and two sets of articles executed; one called the military, the other the civil articles. No complaint has ever been made of the breach of the military articles; but it has been daringly

asserted by Romish writers, that all the laws made, since the revolution, in Ireland, against the growth of Popery, have been violations of the civil articles of Limerick; and such assertions are made in direct contradiction to the articles themselves. Doctor Browne late one of the fellows of, and one of the representatives in, the Irish parliament for the college of Dublin, in the year 1783, published a short tract entitled "a Brief Review of the Question, whether the articles of Limerick have been violated," in which he indeed entered very fully into that question, and exposed the falshood of such an assertion, so effectually, that the Romanists never dared to make any reply, and the question seemed to be put to rest for ever. But it has uniformly been the practice of the Romish writers to revive and republish every falsehood which has, from time to time, been propagated by them, though fully refuted, suffering a convenient period to escape between the refutation, and the republication; that the falsehood may again revive and flourish when the refutation is forgotten. Now, therefore, they come forward with this old reprobated lie, that the articles of Limerick were violated by the enaction of the Popery laws in Ireland in the reigns of King William and Queen Anne; but their acrimony and rancour must for ever be disappointed, in this particular, as long as the articles themselves re-

main on record; for the very recital of the articles is sufficient to prove to any reasonable man, who understands the English language, the groundless nature of such charge against the honour and good faith of the Protestant government of England and Ireland, and the absurdity of the arguments, if they can be called arguments, by which it is supported.

The articles themselves are set forth in this History of the Penal Laws, and they will be found in the Appendix to this publication: and how will the reader be surprised to find, on the perusal of them, that the first of them alone relates to all the Romanists of Ireland! the others wholly relate to Romanists of the description contained in the articles, being certain minute portions of the Romish inhabitants of six Irish counties only, under certain conditions, and to some officers in the rebel army. King William never could prevail on the Irish parliament to ratify the first of these articles; such parts of it, therefore, which required the sanction of an act of parliament to warrant their execution, are to be considered as obliterated from the articles of the capitulation, which exceeded the constitutional power of the crown or its ministers to grant or to execute. These civil articles, so far as the execution of them depended on the constitutional power of the crown, being alone binding, and those which

required the sanction of parliament to enforce their execution being utterly invalid, if the parliament refused its sanction to them. This first article shall be here inserted verbatim, and then a specimen of the conclusions drawn from it in the History of the Penal Laws.

"First, the Roman Catholics of this kingdom shall enjoy such privileges in the exercise of their religion, *as are consistent with the laws of Ireland, or as they did enjoy in the reign of King Charles the Second;* and their majesties, as soon as their affairs will permit them to summon a parliament in this kingdom, will endeavour to procure the said Roman Catholics such further security, *in that particular,* as may preserve them from any disturbance upon the account of their said religion."

The deduction, in the History of the Penal Laws, from this article is the following: "So long as the true principles of justice shall have their due influence, the majority of mankind can never consider this first article of the treaty of Limerick in any other light than as a complete and perpetual exemption of the Irish Catholics from all political and religious disqualification on account of their religion."

In the page immediately preceding this curious deduction, is inserted a statement taken from the report of the Committee of the House of Commons

appointed in 1697, to consider what penal laws were then in force against the Roman Catholics. This committee reported as follows "1st. An act against the authority of the Bishop of Rome. It enacts that no person shall attribute any jurisdiction to the see of Rome; that the person offending shall be subject to a premunire; and that all who have any office from the *king*, every person entering into orders or taking a degree in the university, shall take the oath of supremacy.

"2d. An act restoring to the crown the ancient jurisdiction over the state ecclesiastical and spiritual: it likewise enacts that every ecclesiastical person, and every person accepting office, shall take the oath of supremacy.

"3rd. An act for the uniformity of common prayer. It enacts that every person having no lawful excuse to be absent, shall every Sunday, resort to some place of worship of the established church, or forfeit twelve pence.

"4th. An act by which the chancellor may appoint a guardian to the child of a Catholic.

"5th. An act by which no Catholic schoolmaster can teach in a private house, without a licence from the ordinary of his diocese, and taking the oath of supremacy.

"6th. The new rules, by which no person can be admitted into any corporation without taking

the oath of supremacy." (See History of the Penal Laws, pages 20, 21.)

All the before mentioned laws were in force previous to, and at the time of the capitulation of Limerick, and during the reign of King Charles the Second. The first article of that capitulation stipulates, that the Irish Romanists shall enjoy such privileges in the *exercise* of their religion, as are consistent with the laws of Ireland, or as they did enjoy in the reign of King Charles the Second; and the King promised that he would endeavour to procure them such further security, in that *particular*, (that is, in the *exercise* of their religion,) as might preserve them from any disturbance upon the account of their religion: which promise he never was able to perform, the parliament absolutely refusing to ratify such promise. But if the King had been able to procure the sanction of parliament in that particular, what privilege would it confer on Irish Romanists? nothing but the *exercise* of their religion without being interrupted in such exercise. The article was executed as far as it was in the King's power to execute it. What privilege did it confer on them? It put them into the same situation, with respect to the *exercise* of their religion, as they were in during the time of King Charles the Second; that is, they were subject to great penalties by law for *exercising* it, if the laws were

put in force; and such their situation respecting the *exercise* of their religion is admitted, in the History of the Penal Laws, at the time of the capitulation. This history, with notable absurdity, assumes as a principle, that a toleration of any sect of religion, or a liberty of exercising a religion hostile, in an eminent degree to the established religion of the state, is an absolute grant of all the political privileges of that state to the sectaries so indulged; if that be the case, the Jews are qualified for occupying the first places and promotions in the British empire; so are the Quakers, and several others. No person of common sense will assert that such a principle had ever any admission into the British constitution, nor has it ever prevailed any where, save for a short space of time among the frantic anarchists of France, in the beginning of their revolutionary career; and in some states in North America, it is a favourite Jacobin doctrine, but is not to be maintained by any person attached to the British constitution.

As to that part of the said first article, which contains the engagement on the part of the crown to endeavour to procure to Irish Romanists such further security in that *particular*, that is, in the exercise of their religion, as may preserve them from any disturbance upon the account of their said religion, that is, in *the exercise* of it; the par-

liament did absolutely refuse to ratify it, notwithstanding the endeavours of the crown to induce them to comply with it; and, as it is already proved, it became, with the full knowledge and acquiescence of the negotiators of the capitulation on behalf of the Irish Romanists, a perfect nullity.

The deduction, in the History of the Penal Laws, that this first article of the capitulation, was a complete and perpetual exemption of the Irish Romanists from all *political and religious disqualifications* on account of their religion; or in other words, that it was a repeal of the act of uniformity, and of all the other disqualifying laws, enacted against Romanists from the commencement of the reign of Queen Elizabeth, recited in this history itself, leads to the following inevitable conclusions; that a band of routed traitors, the refuse of the sword, put up in a nook, surrounded by the victorious royal army on all sides, hopeless of escape, had obtained terms from their injured sovereign, by implication, *more advantageous* than they could hope for, had victory in some shape countenanced their rebellion; that the king of Great Britain, by his treaty or capitulation with either a foreign or domestic enemy, can annul and make void all acts of parliament he may think proper, and may at his pleasure engage for the utter subversion of the church

establishment; that King William by this article bound himself so to do, and that the parliament were bound to ratify it; conclusions which are, in themselves, so ridiculous, that they need no refutation; *risum teneatis* is the only answer they merit. Such reasoning puts me in mind of Swift's account of arguments sometimes used by a lady:

> Her arguments directly tend
> Against the side she would defend.

The free exercise of any religion different from that of the state, consists in permitting the votaries of such religion to repair to such places of worship as they think proper, and to have priests or pastors of their own appointment, to administer to them in their spiritual functions. The Irish Romanists, since the capitulation of Limerick, always had free access to parochial Romish chapels, in the different parishes in the kingdom, and parish priests in their several parishes; sometimes two or more in a parish without any molestation: notwithstanding they were, till within these twenty years last past, subject to all the penal laws which were in force in the reign of Charles the Second, which laws were never, since the capitulation, put in force against them. The only interruption they ever met with, was, for about three weeks in the Scotch rebellion, when their chapels were shut

up by order of government; their avowed hostility to that government being notorious, and their numerous meetings at the chapels giving them opportunities of caballing, and forming treasonable conspiracies. The swarming of friers into Ireland from foreign monasteries has been prohibited, and endeavours used to prevent the importation of such dangerous incendiaries, who extract a living from the poor by propagating disaffection and ridiculous superstitions; but the secular Romish priests have been openly permitted freely to exercise their functions in their different parishes in Ireland, ever since the capitulation of Limerick, save for about three weeks, on the occasion, and for the reasons before mentioned, which deserves not the character of disturbance in the exercise of their religion; so that this first article of that capitulation has been fully complied with, though it never was ratified by act of parliament, and consequently never was binding on the part of the protestant government of Ireland. There is therefore no ground whatsoever for the malicious assertion, that the first article of that capitulation has been violated; and the whole charge of the violation of these articles by the protestant government of Ireland, in the History of the Penal Laws, is founded on the supposed violation of this article; and on the ridiculous and unfounded asser-

tion, that it contained a complete and perpetual exemption of Irish Romanists from all *political and religious* disqualification on account of their religion.

The other civil articles of this capitulation come next under consideration, first reciting the short abstract of them contained in the treatise of Doctor Browne before-mentioned, which on comparison with the articles will be found correct. The second article relates; 1st. to the inhabitants or residents of Limerick at the time of the capitulation, or of any garrison *then* in possession of the *Irish*, meaning Romanists. (Throughout the articles, *Irish*, means Romanists; English, Protestants; the native Irish Romanists at this day have but the one term in their language, for Protestants and Englishmen.) 2nd. To the officers and soldiers then in arms, under any commission from King James, or those authorised by him to grant the same in the several counties of Limerick, Clare, Kerry, Cork, and Mayo, or any of them, *and all such as are under their protection in said counties.* (The words in italics were omitted in the draft of the executed articles, but inserted afterwards by consent.) 3dly. All the commissioned officers in their majesties' quarters, that belonged to the Irish regiments then in being, that were treated with (and were not prisoners of war), or who had

taken protection, *and who should return and submit to their majesties' obedience,* the article stipulates, that the persons above-mentioned, they and every of their heirs, shall hold, possess and enjoy all their estates of freehold and inheritance, and all the rights, titles, and interests, privileges, and immunities, which they and every or any of them, held, enjoyed, or were rightfully entitled unto, in the reign of King Charles the Second, or any time since, by the laws and statutes that were in force in the said reign of King Charles the Second, and shall be put in possession, by order of the government, of such of them as are in the king's hands, or in the hands of his tenants, without being put to any suit or trouble therein: the remainder of this article relates only to discharging the estates before-mentioned from certain arrears of crown and quit rents: to the security of all persons therein comprehended in the enjoyment of their goods and chattles, and to enabling *the persons included in this article,* to use, enjoy, and exercise their several professions, trades, and callings, as freely as they did in the reign of Charles the Second; and the article concludes with a *proviso that no one should take benefit by it who should neglect or refuse to take the oath of allegiance to King William and Queen Mary.*

The third article extends the benefit of the se-

cond article to merchants, or reputed merchants of the city of Limerick, or of any other garrison then in possession of the Irish, or of any town or place in the counties of *Clare or Kerry,* who were absent beyond the seas, and had not borne arms since February 1688, and who should repair into the kingdom in eight months.

The fourth article extends the benefit of the second to certain individuals under the conditions therein prescribed.

The fifth, sixth, seventh, and eighth articles, relate to the persons and descriptions of men, *mentioned and recited in the second and third articles, and to them only.*

The ninth prescribes the oath to be administered to such *Roman Catholics as submit to their majesties' government.*

The tenth stipulates that no person by breaking the articles, shall deprive others of the benefit of them.

The eleventh relates only to the exemption from arrests, during eight months from the date of the articles, of *the persons comprehended in the preceding articles.*

The twelfth is an undertaking on the part of the Lords Justices and Generals, that their Majesties would ratify the articles within the space of eight months, or sooner, and would use their utmost endeavours that the same should be

ratified and confirmed in parliament. The thirteenth relates to the private interest of Colonel John Browne and his creditors.

From what is stated it is evident, in the first place, that the first article only of this capitulation extended to the Romanists of Ireland in general; that parliament refused to ratify it; that, therefore, such parts of it as stood in need of a ratification by parliament being rejected, notwithstanding the endeavours of the crown to procure such ratification, never were binding, nor were considered by either of the contracting parties as binding, notwithstanding which the Protestant government of Ireland, did always religiously comply with every part of it, and always, connived at the free exercise of the Romish religion; though it was, in fact, proscribed by the laws as they stood in the reign of King Charles the Second.

In the second place, it is evident that all the stipulations in all the remaining articles extended only to the then inhabitants of Limerick, a town at that time not of half the size of Shrewsbury or Chester, and of the other garrisons then in possession of the Romanists; to the officers and soldiers of the Romish army in five counties, Limerick, Clare, Kerry, Cork, and Mayo only; and all under their protection in said counties, who should return and submit to their majesties'

obedience, and take the oath of allegiance to King William and Queen Mary; to all merchants of the city of Limerick, or other garrison in possession of the Romanists, or of any town or place in the counties of Clare or Kerry, then absent or beyond the seas, provided they returned to Ireland within eight months, and took the oath of allegiance to King William and Queen Mary; and to a few individuals in the articles mentioned. The Romish negotiators, in the preamble of the civil articles did not pretend to negotiate for more than the Romish inhabitants of the county and city of Limerick, and of five other counties. All these restrictions in the articles, are entirely smothered in Smollet's epitome of these articles, contained in his History of England, a book of no historical reputation, which represents all these articles as extending to all the Romanists of Ireland, and is exultingly quoted, in this History of the Penal Laws, as stating the treaty of Limerick to be the great charter of the civil and religious liberty of the Irish Romanists. Smollet, notwithstanding the above gross misrepresentation of these articles, amounting at once to a suppression of truth and suggestion of falsehood, does not state them to be such charter; but that the Catholics of Ireland look on this treaty as the great charter of their civil and re-

ligious liberty: with what justice is left to the judgment of the reader.

It is now time to expose to the view of the public how small a part of the Romanists of Ireland were, at the date of this capitulation, entitled to any benefit whatsoever of these articles, the first only excepted; and what a still smaller part complied with the conditions under which they were to enjoy the benefit of them: even admitting the words "and all such as are under their protection in said counties" to make part of the second article, and also admitting that the whole article, though not ratified by parliament, was binding.

The rebel Romish army consisted, in the year 1689, of fifty regiments of foot, some of two battalions each, and fifteen regiments of horse and dragoons. (See King's State of the Protestants of Ireland.) By the military capitulation of Limerick, all the remains of this army, after their three disastrous campaigns of 1689, 1690, and 1691, were at liberty to embark for France, and to be conveyed thither in British transports. The Protestant generals used every endeavour to prevail with as many of them as they could, by rewards, by offers of employing them in the army of the allies opposed to the French, and by every allurement of ease and comfort, which their own country could afford them; on their laying down

their arms, and retiring to their several habitations, to decline the embarkation for a foreign country, hostile to their own nation, and then in a state of actual war with it. Almost the whole Romish army preferred the abandonment of their native land to all such offers, thus manifesting an invincible hostility to their Protestant countrymen; a body of them, consisting of sixteen thousand men with all their officers, embarked for France, and served in the French armies, and were constantly recruited from Ireland; and under the denomination of *the Irish brigade*, a formidable body of such troops continued in, and made a part of the French armies from the year 1691, until the commencement of the French Revolution. The whole Romish army embarked for France excepting three regiments, to wit: the regiment commanded by M'Dermot, and the two commanded by Felix, and Bryan O'Neil; these together, not amounting to one thousand men, being much reduced in number in the course of the war; and parties from seventeen other regiments declined to embark for France. All the other regiments of the Irish Romish army went off in a body. At the time of the capitulation, the Romanists had but one garrison in the town of Sligo; all the rest of that county was in possession of the King's troops. In the counties of Cork, Clare, Kerry, Limerick, and Mayo, being the only counties to which the

provisions of all the articles, except the first, extended, the Romanists had garrisons only in Limerick, in Clare castle, in the county of Clare, and in Ross castle, a very small insignificant castle, in the county of Kerry, situated in a kind of island in the lake of Killarney, joined to the main land by a causeway, the island itself not containing an acre of ground. A few small parties of the Romish army were dispersed in some of the mountains and bogs of these five counties; all the open habitable parts of them being in possession of the King's troops. Who then, in these five counties, were under the protection of the officers and soldiers at that time in arms under any commission from King James, or those by him authorised to grant the same? Surely none of the inhabitants in the plain open parts of these counties, or in the neighbourhood of the towns in these five counties possessed by the King's troops, either regulars or militia; all the people in these five counties under such protection must be, the few scattered inhabitants of some of the bogs and mountains which incumber them, and which could not amount to one fortieth part of their population; that is, as there are thirty-two counties in Ireland, to the twelve hundredth and fortieth part of its population.

The History of the Penal Laws, on these words, "and all such as are under their protection in the

said counties;" that is, in the five counties above mentioned, inserted in the second civil article agreed upon, argues thus, or rather makes the following assertion: "These words, according even to the treaty, extended the benefit of the treaty to the whole Catholic population of these counties, which certainly was the object of the treaty, as it may be collected from the preamble to it, in which it is stated that the Irish Generals acted on behalf of the Irish inhabitants of these counties." What a curious deduction is this! The Romish negotiators acted at the treaty respecting the civil articles on behalf of the Romish (Irish) inhabitants of the city and county of Limerick, and the counties of Clare, Cork, Kerry, Sligo, and Mayo, and no other part of Ireland, the article agreed upon containing the words, restrains the benefit of the article, in express words, to those Romanists under the protection of the Romish military force in five of these counties, omitting the county of Sligo. The History alleges that the benefit was, by these words, extended to the whole Romish population of the six counties mentioned in the preamble, though the county of Sligo was, in the article, totally omitted, because the Romish negotiators assumed to be commissioned to treat for the whole population of six counties; so that the article agreed to is to extend to the Romish population of six

counties, though five only are mentioned in the article, and to the whole Romish population in these six counties; that is, to all the Romanists in infinitely the largest part of these six counties, in the city of Cork and all other towns in these six counties, then in possession of the Protestant forces, and the Romish inhabitants of them, then under the protection of the Protestant army, and not at all under the protection of the Romish garrisons or military. The Romish negotiators, we are to suppose, acted for their employers, vigorously and faithfully, and obtained for them every advantage they could; but the Protestant negotiators would not agree to include all the Romish population in these six counties, in the article; and this is very notorious; for if the Protestant negotiators had so agreed, instead of the words, "and all under their protection in said counties," would be inserted "and all the Romish inhabitants of said counties." Yet the History states that the words in the article, "and all such as are under their protection in said counties," *according even to the strict letter of the article,* extend the benefit of the treaty to the whole Romish population of these five counties, in open contradiction to the very letter of the article itself; and it deduces this most extraordinary conclusion from the commission assumed by the Irish negotiators, stated in the preamble of the

articles, under which they undertook to treat for the Romish inhabitants of six counties. If such deduction of the extent of the article is to be admitted from the preamble, the Romish inhabitants of the county of Sligo are also to be included; for the Romish negotiators assumed a power to treat for them also, though the county of Sligo is entirely omitted in the article. Such indeed is the general tenor of all arguments used in the History of the Penal Laws, and on such arguments only is the whole charge of the infraction of the articles of the capitulation of Limerick grounded; assuming, in direct contradiction to the articles themselves, that the benefit of them all extended to the whole Romish inhabitants of Ireland, whereas (the first excepted) all the rest extend their benefit to a very insignificant part of the Romish population of Ireland; almost their whole military force rejecting all claim to any benefit from them, abandoning their country under the provisions of the military capitulation, and preferring the service of the enemy to that of their own sovereign.

It is now time to expose the falsehood and malice of the groundless abuse and invective against King William the Third; accused, in express terms, of breach of faith and perfidy, in several parts of this History of the Penal Laws; in neglecting to procure for all the Irish Romanists,

acts of parliament putting them on an exact footing with his Protestant subjects of Ireland, in respect of all *political and religious privileges.* The absolute falsity of their title to such privileges, under any or all of the articles, is already demonstrated; the bare recital of the articles proves the direct contrary, but the government, notwithstanding, from the time of the capitulation, to the time when all the laws complained of by the Irish Romanists, enacted in the reigns of all the princes who enjoyed or succeeded to the crown since this capitulation were repealed, uniformly connived at the enjoyment, by the whole Romish body in Ireland, of all the benefits of these articles, though they were never wholly ratified by parliament; and though, if entirely ratified, they would not confer any political privilege on any of that body, and though, with the exception of the exercise of their religion, a very small portion indeed of that body would become entitled to any benefit whatsoever under these articles, and that too upon the condition of taking the oath of allegiance to William and Mary, with which scarce any of them ever complied.

The very unmerited favour shewn by William, to the Irish Romish army, in granting them these articles without any necessity for so doing, in his connivance at the enjoyment, by the whole

body of Irish Romanists, of the full benefit of these articles, and in declining to put in force against them the laws, to which, by these very articles, they had agreed to submit; had so disgusted the whole Protestants of Ireland, that he found it impossible to procure the Irish parliament to ratify them, notwithstanding his most strenuous endeavours to effect it. What the sentiments of the whole Protestants of Ireland, and of England too, were in respect of these articles, may be collected from the united testimony of all the historians of that period. They all agree that the Protestant subjects of Ireland were extremely disgusted at these concessions made in favour of vanquished rebels, who had exercised every act of cruelty and rapine; they complained that they themselves, who had suffered for their loyalty to King William, were neglected, and obliged to sit down with their losses, while their enemies, who had shed so much blood in opposing his government, were indemnified by the articles of the capitulation, and even favoured with particular indulgencies; that the most unreasonable lenity was shewn to Romanists, and the greatest injustice done to the Protestants by that capitulation; talked, at the time, of disputing its legality, since it deprived them of their private actions, and remedy for trespasses and wrongs done, exclaimed that attainders were

suspended, forfeitures vacated, pardons improperly granted, all in the most unheard of and unwarrantable manner. The general cry was, that every injury and prejudice was done by the framers of these articles to his majesty's faithful subjects, while the greatest favour was absurdly and wickedly shewn to rebels, who had used all the efforts in their power to ruin the Constitution and Protestant interest in Ireland, and, in truth, to separate Ireland from England for ever; and utterly to extirpate, from that nation, all Protestants; and that there was no sort of necessity for entering into such compact. How well founded such complaints were all persons, reading the preceding pages, will see; and how extremely ridiculous the passages in the History of the Penal Laws are, magnifying the strength of the Irish Romanists at the time of the surrender of Limerick, and the valuable consideration they gave for this capitulation. See Ralph, vol. II. p. 307, 308; Burnet's History of his own times, vol. II. page 81; Tyndal's Continuation of Rapin, vol. XVII. page 189; Smollet, vol. VIII. page 426; Harris's History of King William, page 231, 232; Mrs. Macauley's Letters, page 25.

The English parliament entertained the same opinion of this capitulation as the Irish; for, in 1693, the English commons addressed the king,

complaining of the great favour shewn to the Irish Romanists, by the articles of Limerick; and, in 1690, they rejected a clause introduced in a bill, which clause empowered the king to make such articles with the Irish, then in arms, as he should think fit; suspecting, at that time, that the king was favourably inclined to the Irish rebels. (See Tyndal's Continuation of Rapin, vol. XVII. page 111, and 401.

In this temper of the nation, it was impossible for King William to procure, from either his Irish or his English parliament, any ratification of the articles of Limerick; and it was absolutely necessary for him to let the resentment of the people cool a little, before he could venture to propose the ratification of any part of them to his parliaments of either England or Ireland, with any prospect of success. The History of the Penal Laws, without any just cause whatsoever, imputes to him a disregard to the articles of this capitulation, by his not proposing to his first Irish parliament, which met in October, 1692, and was dissolved in September, 1693, a ratification of this treaty. The reason is plain; he knew it would be rejected with marks of the strongest reprobation, which might for ever prevent any part of it from obtaining a parliamentary sanction. But he did not propose it in his second parliament, in 1695. His reason for such

conduct is the very same: but the History of the Penal Laws states, that he seems to have entirely forgotten that his own faith, *and the faith of the English nation*, was plighted to the Irish Romanists, by a solemn treaty, to make such proposition. The faith of the king was plighted, to endeavour to procure for the Irish Romanists such further *security* in the *exercise* of their religion, as might preserve them from any disturbance on that account; that is, further security for the *exercise* of their religion than they had in the reign of Charles the Second, which was only connivance on the part of the crown, the exercise of their religion being then forbidden by law; and all men were punishable for celebrating, or being present at the celebration of mass, by the Irish act of Uniformity of the 2d of Elizabeth. (See Dyer's Reports, page 203, and the 9th section of the act itself.) This connivance the Romanists fully enjoyed under the reign of King William and his successors; but how was the faith of either the English or the Irish nation bound, by the first article of the capitulation, to procure, or their parliaments to pass, any act of parliament whatsoever for giving to Irish Romanists, further security for the *exercise* of their religion than they had in the reign of Charles the Second, that is, to annul any act of parliament then in force prohibiting such exercise? This assertion is utterly

unfounded. The History then proceeds to accuse King William of a breach of faith respecting these articles, because his Lord-deputy told the Irish parliament that he was intent upon the great work of a firm settlement of Ireland on a *Protestant* interest. Was the settlement of Ireland on a Protestant interest any breach of the capitulation of Limerick, and of what article?

The rhapsody inserted in this History immediately after the civil articles, page 19 of the English edition, cannot be read without amazement at the audacity of its professing to contain an epitome or compendium of the benefits which this capitulation conferred on the whole Romish population of Ireland. It is an ebullition of the most extravagant assertions directly contradicting the recited articles. It states, "that if this capitulation be considered according to the rules of common morality, influencing the conduct of man to man, (England being bound to construe it with liberality, and execute it with good faith) the Irish Romanists, that is, *the whole Romish population of Ireland* must be considered, as placed by it in a situation of complete equality with their Protestant countrymen;" and then it proceeds to enumerate a number of privileges and immunities, as conferred on the whole Irish Romish body by the capitulation, most of them confined, by the very words of the arti-

cles, to the very insignificant number of that body specially described in the articles, and many of them not mentioned, in any manner, in the articles, but claimed as the undoubted right of all that body, because entirely omitted in the articles; and among others, the right of Romanists to sit in Parliament, and an engagement on the part of the English nation, to repeal all the laws, in the History specially recited, which were in force against Irish Romanists since the second year of the reign of Queen Elizabeth. The futility and absurdity of all such claims under these articles, are already set forth and exposed, except the claim of Irish Romanists to sit in parliament at the time of the surrender of Limerick.

The History of the Penal Laws, in respect to the disqualification of Irish Romanists to sit in parliament, and the commencement of such disqualification, is as bold, and as unfounded in its positions, as in any other of the wild or sophistical assertions contained in that pamphlet: it runs thus—" the English parliament that passed the [illegible] of William and Mary, chap. 2, by which Irish peers and members of parliament were first required to take the oath of supremacy, met on the 22d of October, 1691, according to the Constitution of Ireland, as granted by Henry the Second, and confirmed in 1782. This act

of the third of William and Mary, chap. 2, was not binding in Ireland; and though the Catholics submitted to it, they were not legally excluded from parliament till the twenty-second year of his Majesty's reign. This act, (to wit, the act of William and Mary,) was in direct violation of the treaty of Limerick, which was signed on the 3d of October, 1691." This whole paragraph is throughout a misrepresentation; for, in the first place, by the established law of the land, as held, practised, submitted to, and executed both in England and Ireland in the reign of William and Mary, Ireland was bound by acts of the parliament of England, wherein it was specially named; or wherein it was declared that the act extended to all the king's dominions; so that the English act of the third of William and Mary, by which Irish peers and members of parliament were, as the History states, first required to take the oath of supremacy, was lawfully binding in Ireland: and this paragraph shews that Romanists, even for the privilege of sitting in parliament, will not take the oath of supremacy, or admit that the country is exempt from a foreign jurisdiction vested in the Pope. Such law was part of the acknowledged Constitution of Ireland, from the time of Henry the Second to the year 1782; the Irish statutes themselves avowing, that Ireland, always, since the

reign of Henry the Second, was a kingdom inseparably united to, and dependent upon, the imperial crown of England. In the second place, all members of the house of commons, by the law of parliament, independently of the act of the third of William and Mary, and antecedent to it; to wit, from the year 1642, were obliged to take the oath of supremacy, or vacate their seats. (See the resolution of the Irish house of commons, in the year 1642, in the Journals of that house.) And by another resolution of the Irish house of commons, in the year 1661, all the members were obliged to take the oath of supremacy, and the oath of allegiance of the third of James the First. The Irish house of commons, in the first parliament, assembled in Ireland in the reign of William and Mary, in the third and fourth years of that reign, immediately on their meeting, and before they proceeded to any business whatsoever, took the oaths of supremacy and allegiance, and repeated and subscribed the declaration against the peculiar tenets of Popery, thereby acknowledging and avowing, that the English act of the third of William and Mary was binding in Ireland, by the known law of the land, as it then stood. The house of commons has always exercised the power of judging of their own privileges, and of the qualifications of their members; such is the law of

parliament, part of the law of the land. The Irish house of commons, long previous to the third of William and Mary, had imposed the taking of the oath of supremacy on all its members by their resolutions in 1642, and 1662, and such resolutions were always implicitly obeyed. Irish Romanists obstinately refused to take the oath of supremacy, and by such refusal were lawfully excluded from that house from the year 1642. (See the Journals of the Irish Commons, vol. I. page 434. Ibid. page 568, vol. II. page 443.) The Irish house of lords, at its meeting in 1661, made an order, that all their members should receive the sacrament from the primate's hands, which order, according to Curry, was made for the exclusion of the Romish peerage; but if no such order had been made, very few such Romish peers could have, in the year 1661, sat in the house of lords; for the Irish peerage, before the Romish rebellion and massacre of 1641, in Ireland was not numerous; and almost the whole Romish Irish peerage was attainted for their joining in that rebellion.

The third point to be considered in this paragraph quoted from the History is, that *this English act of the third of William and Mary was in direct violation of the treaty of Limerick.* This is a very bold assertion, and is imposed on the reader as a position which requires no proof;

for no argument is produced in support of it. To any person who has read the articles, it cannot be a self-evident proposition, that requiring certain oaths, as tests, from persons claiming a right to sit either in the Irish house of lords or commons, is a violation of the articles of Limerick. The first article only relates to the free *exercise* of the Romish religion by its votaries, throughout Ireland; the provisions of all the other articles extend to a very minute part of the Irish Romanists in five counties only, and to certain private persons; and even in respect of these Romanists, there is not a word in the articles which can be tortured into an agreement that no qualifications enabling men to sit in parliament should be enacted by parliament; nor is there any thing contained in them, which could, or can, in any manner, bind parliament; for parliament was no party whatsoever to them: the crown (so far as the power of the prerogative of the crown extended) was bound to their execution, but no further. Parliament absolutely refused to ratify the first article, which alone extended to the whole Romish body in Ireland. Perhaps the history alludes to an ingenious criticism on colons, semicolons, and commas, in its 25th page, and attempts to prove that the meaning of part of the second article is altered in the confirmation of that article, by the alteration of such stops, that the words *rights,*

privileges, and immunities, in the articles, refer to the persons of the Romanists, and not to their estates; whereas, in the confirmation of them by parliament, they are made to refer to their estates, and not to their persons. Whoever reads the paragraph in the articles, whether the stops alluded to be colons, semicolons, or commas, and puts the whole paragraph together, which is pretty long, and considers that the words, "shall be put in possession of such of them as are in the king's hands, or the hands of his tenants, and that said estates shall be freed from all arrears of crown rents, quit rents, &c.," which concludes the whole paragraph, will clearly perceive, that the words rights, privileges, and immunities, refer to the estates only, and not to the persons; but in truth, it is of very little consequence, or rather of none, for, as before observed, the parliament was under no obligation whatsoever to ratify any of the articles; and such parts as could not be executed without the sanction of Parliament, became, by the notorious consent, and with the previous full knowledge of the negotiators, a dead letter, when such sanction was refused; and the part alluded to could not, if ratified in the sense of the History, in any manner whatsoever, debar the parliament from enjoying the tests as qualifications for members of parliament, though such tests should affect Romanists only; the great bulk of

their army rejecting all benefit of the civil articles; and all the Romanists entitled to any benefit from them being insignificant in number, the articles (the first excepted) not reaching the one-thousandth part of the body of Irish Romanists.

The History then proceeds to charge King William and the Irish parliament, in the most outrageous terms, with injustice and perfidy to the Irish Romanists; and these charges he grounds on the act passed in the seventh year of the reign of William, for confirmation of articles made at the surrender of Limerick. The charge against the king is, that he did not propose to the first Irish parliament of his reign, to pass any act for confirming the articles of Limerick. The reason is already fully explained: in his second parliament, which met in April, 1695, his Lord-deputy, in a speech, told the parliament, that he was intent upon the great work of a firm settlement of Ireland, on a Protestant interest. It seems it is an instance of perfidy in his British majesty, to conform to his coronation oath, or to support a Protestant interest. These are the two instances of William's conduct, on which the history fixes the charges of perfidy and injustice to the Irish Romanists on William; and they have just as much foundation as all the

other malignant charges contained in that farrago of Romish venom and falshood.

The charges, against the parliament, of injustice and perfidy to the Irish Romanists, are equally groundless. The History states, that they first passed an act to deprive Romanists of the means of educating their children, either at home or abroad; and of the privilege of being guardians either of their own or of any other person's children, and subjoins, in a note, a declamatory condemnation of this act, by the avowed Irish agent, Mr. Edmund Burke. This is the Irish act of the seventh of William the Third, chap. 4th, against foreign education, which act is little more than enacting, in Ireland, a statute, to the same effect with the English act of the twenty-seventh of Elizabeth, chap. 2, which extended to all her majesty's dominions; and as all lawyers know, such law was binding in Ireland at that time, and at the time of the revolution. This English act forbade the sending children abroad, without special licence, under the penalty of one hundred pounds for such offence; lest they should be educated in foreign seminaries, and obliged all subjects, in such seminaries, to return in six months after proclamation, and take the oath of supremacy, under pain of high treason. The Lord Chancellor had also the power, by act of parliament, before the revolu-

tion, to appoint guardians to the children of Roman Catholics; and private tutors were forbidden unless they took the oath of supremacy. See 20th page of the English edition of the History. What new authority then was assumed by this Irish act against foreign education? and what article of the capitulation of Limerick did it violate? The mischief of the education of the king's subjects, in foreign Romish seminaries, is admitted by all. The ridiculous rant of Mr. Burke, too precious a morsel to be omitted in this acrimonious pamphlet styled a History, "that this restraint upon foreign and domestic education was part of a horrible and impious system of servitude," cannot be supported upon any principle either of justice or ordinary policy; the expediency of restraining foreign education is universally acknowledged: and no person knew better than Mr. Burke, himself, born and educated in Ireland, that the act did not prevent domestic or national education; for the Protestant public schools throughout the kingdom were open to Roman Catholics, where they might be instructed in all kinds of learning, without any interference with their religion; there were also, constantly, in Ireland, a vast number of Romish public school-masters: the laws in such cases being almost universally connived at, and as for well-informed private tutors, any Roman Catholic who could support the

expense of one, might and did procure him, no person whatsoever troubling himself about his religion, or his taking or refusing the oaths appointed by the act to be taken by tutors in private families. The Lord Chancellor had also a power, by the act of the seventh of William the Third, to appoint guardians to the minor children of Irish Romanists; which power he also had by act of parliament before the revolution, as is stated in the History of the Penal Laws itself; and if it had been a new power conferred on the Chancellor, it would not be any violation of the articles of Limerick.

As a second violation of these articles by the Irish parliament of the seventh of William, the History states, with equal justice, that they passed an act for disarming the Irish Romanists; but he omits that the act contains a saving, "that every Romish nobleman and gentleman comprised in the second and third articles of Limerick, shall have liberty to ride with a sword and case of pistols, and keep a gun in their houses, for the defence of the same, or for fowling." This is the substance of the seventh civil article of the capitulation: and the very article demonstrates, that the government, at the time of the capitulation, intended to disarm the Irish Romanists, else why was such seventh article included in the capitulation? The government must be mad

indeed, if it had suffered arms to remain in the hands of a class of the community, which had, for two centuries, at short intervals, made repeated desperate attempts by open rebellion, by massacre, robbery, and devastation, utterly to extirpate the Protestant religion, and all professors of it, out of the kingdom, shewing no mercy to man, woman, nor child, of that profession, on whom they could lay their hands.

The third instance of perfidy, of the Irish parliament of 1697, to the Romanists, stated in this History, is, that they passed an act to banish the Romish priests. This is the act to banish all Romish archbishops, bishops, and other ecclesiastical dignitaries, exercising ecclesiastical jurisdiction; and all regulars and friars of the Popish clergy; no secular priests were included in the act, they were at liberty to exercise their functions in their respective parishes; but this circumstance is suppressed in the History, with its usual candour: not a paragraph in the whole, stating the purport or view of any act of parliament, or any transaction whatsoever, that is not impeachable for the *suppressio veri*, or *suggestio falsi*, exclusive of the direct falsehood of the greatest number of them, and the false deductions from them. The utmost the Irish Romanists could claim under the first article of the capitulation, were such privileges in the *exercise*

of their religion, as were consistent with the laws of Ireland; or as they enjoyed in the reign of King Charles the Second; the parliament having resisted the king's endeavours to procure any further privileges for them in the *exercise* of their religion, and therefore that part of the article being a dead letter. Doctor Browne, in the work already mentioned, in which he confuted the calumny, that the Protestant government had violated the articles of Limerick, has accurately stated the several acts of parliament by which the *exercise* of the Romish religion was prohibited, and which were in force in the reign of King Charles the Second. A few extracts from this work will demonstrate the downright falsehood of this charge, that the act for banishing the bishops exercising ecclesiastical jurisdiction, and the regular orders of the Romish clergy, was any infraction of the articles of Limerick. The English act of the twenty-seventh of Elizabeth, which it is already shewn extended to, and was the acknowledged law of Ireland, in the reign of Charles the Second, banished all jesuits, seminary priests, and other priests whatsoever from her majesty's dominions, and forbade them to come into them, on pain of high treason, and to entertain them was felony. By the Irish act of uniformity, second of Elizabeth, ch. 2. if any minister refused to use the Book of Common

Prayer, or to minister the sacraments in the order as they were set forth in the said book, or should wilfully or obstinately *use any other rite or manner* of celebrating the Lord's Supper, or mattins, even song, or administration of the sacraments, or other open prayers, than is mentioned or set forth in the said book, he was to forfeit for his first offence, the profit of all his spiritual benefices, arising in one whole year after his conviction: for the second offence, suffer a year's imprisonment, and be deprived of all his spiritual promotions: for the third, imprisonment for life. If he had no spiritual promotion, for his first offence to suffer a discretionary imprisonment; for his second, imprisonment for life.—See second of Elizabeth, sects. 4, 5, 6, 7, 8. By the 9th, 11th, 12th, and 13th sections of the same act, heavy penalties were inflicted on persons maintaining priests to say mass, or attending on such mass. The 14th section of this act enacts, That all persons inhabiting within the Queen's dominions, shall, having no lawful excuse, endeavour to resort to their parish church or chapel, or upon reasonable let thereof, to some usual place, where the said Common Prayer, and such service of God, shall be used, every Sunday, and other holiday; and there abide during the time of Divine service, upon pain of punishment by the censure of the church, and also upon pain that every per-

son so offending, shall forfeit twelve pence to the use of the poor.

Thus it is manifest, that in the reign of Charles the Second, by the laws as they then stood, Romish priests were banished, and their re-admission barred; the saying or hearing of mass was prohibited, and, in fact, all *exercise* of the Romish religion prohibited under severe penalties; and that in the reign of Charles the Second, Irish Romanists were, by law, totally barred from all *exercise* of their religion; that whatever indulgence they enjoyed in that particular, was by the connivance of government, and that the articles of Limerick placed them, as to the *exercise* of their religion, only on the same footing as they were in the reign of Charles the Second. How flagrantly unjust, therefore, is the accusation against the Irish parliament, of a breach of the articles of Limerick, by their act of banishing Romish priests, &c. exercising ecclesiastical jurisdiction, and the regular orders of the Romish clergy; omitting all clauses to affect the secular Romish clergy; thus extending, by influence, a sort of legal indulgence to the *exercise* of the Romish religion, absolutely, prohibited by the laws in the reign of Charles the Second! Surely such conduct in the parliament, rather merited the thanks of the Irish Romanists than reprobation and reproach.

The History then proceeds to accuse the Irish

parliament of the 9th of William, with the grossest injustice and perfidy to the Irish Romanists, because they did not ratify all the civil articles of the capitulation of Limerick. What obligation was laid on the parliament to ratify any one of them? If the crown had not power, by its prerogative, to grant such articles, and it was well known to the negotiators on both sides that it had not, was the parliament bound to sanction such articles, by enacting laws repealing the fundamental laws of the state, because the crown had engaged to use it's endeavours to procure the parliament to do so? Or to enact new laws to enable routed rebels to enjoy all the fruits of a successful rebellion, and thus to sanction, and in fact to invite and hold out rewards for future rebellions? Will any reasonable man teach such doctrines in the British empire? Will any British subject say, that the crown has any power to contract with any party whatsoever, that the parliament of the realm shall pass acts to alter municipal laws of the state? The crown has the prerogative of making war or peace with foreign nations, and the articles it agrees upon with foreign nations in concluding a peace, are binding on the nation with respect to its foreign relations, though its ministers may be censured and punished by parliament for misconduct in the progress of such treaties: but who ever heard, that the

crown in the British empire has a power to contract with any foreign or domestic enemy, that the parliament shall make such acts as may be dictated by the crown, altering, in any manner, the established laws for the internal government of the empire? and that the parliament is bound by such contract to make such acts? Yet upon such absurd and unconstitutional doctrine is founded, in this History, the accusation of injustice and perfidy of the Irish parliament to the Irish Romanists, and the charge of infraction of the articles of Limerick. The Irish parliament, by the solicitation and influence of the ministers of the crown, was prevailed on to pass an act for the confirmation of some of these articles, and openly professed that they did not mean to confirm them all. The passage in the very preamble of the act quoted in the History "that the said articles, or *so much of them as may consent with the safety or welfare of your majesty's subjects of this realm, may* be confirmed," proves to demonstration, that the Irish parliament never meant nor intended to confirm more of these articles, than so much of them as are recited in the act; and it is already proved that all the rest of these articles were to be considered as a dead letter, save so much of them as depended, for their execution, on the prerogative of the crown. It is admitted, in the History, that the

Irish parliament never confirmed the first article; the only one extending to the Irish Romanists in general; yet they never were disturbed, after the date of the capitulation, in the *exercise* of their religion, though it was directly contrary to the laws as they stood in the reign of Charles the Second. It is admitted also, in the History, that the Irish parliament never confirmed that part of the second article, which extended the benefit of most of the remaining articles to such Irish Romanists as were under the protection of the rebel garrisons in five counties only; and the History states that the omission of such confirmation limited the benefit of all the remaining articles to the rebel army and the inhabitants of Limerick, and in its usual strain of abuse styles the limitation most perfidious and unjustifiable; still affecting to take for granted that the Irish parliament was bound to confirm these articles; the absurdity of which dogma is already fully exposed. The History then proceeds to state further particulars, in which the act of confirmation differs from the articles, and reprobates the conduct of King William in giving the royal assent to this act; though it is particularly relied upon by Sir Theobald Butler, in his argument against the bill, then before parliament, in the fourth year of the reign of queen Anne, intitled an Act to prevent the further growth of Popery, and the conduct of the Irish parliament and of the English

nation. The invective proceeds so far as to include in it all our princes who have since succeeded to the throne; not even omitting his present majesty. It indulges in the following rhapsody, "How it is possible to defend William and his ministers from the charge of having acted with perfidy towards the Catholics, it is not easy to discover; that they were guilty of violating the treaty no one can deny. But if William and his ministers were guilty of perfidy towards the Catholics, his successor far outstripped him. *Nor has any succeeding prince been free from the blame of having been an accessary to his crime,* in proportion as he has neglected or refused to repeal these penal laws, which are so many glaring violations of the treaty of Limerick, which are a scandal to the boasted good faith of the English nation, and a mockery of that equitable religion whose precepts are founded upon the purest principles of justice and humanity."—See pages 26, 27, of the History. This is a rare specimen of Romish modesty, logic, and regard to truth! What knowledge of the English constitution it displays! The king can repeal acts of parliament; and is guilty of perfidy if he does not! The English nation is also guilty of perfidy to Irish Romanists, because an Irish parliament has enacted laws to prevent the growth of popery!

The History then proceeds to enumerate the popery laws enacted in Ireland in the reign of

Queen Anne and her successors, styling them penal, when in truth they are remedial and preventive laws. First repeating the character given of the two Irish popery acts, of the second and eighth of Queen Anne, by the celebrated Irish agent already mentioned, who styles them the *ferocious* acts of Anne: he then states, that they were all violations of the articles of Limerick. This he supports on the following species of argument:—All the Irish Romanists became entitled to a full equality with Irish Protestants in all civil privileges by the articles of Limerick; as well such as are specified in the articles, as such as are not at all mentioned in them; because as they were not excluded from all such privileges, by the articles, it must be taken for granted that they were considered in the negotiation as intitled to them. The History thus concludes this strange argument, "If this treaty is only considered according to those rules of common morality which influence the conduct of man to man; if in proportion to the great advantages which England derived from it, she was bound to construe it with liberality, as well as to execute it with good faith, then the Irish Catholics must be considered as placed by it in a situation of complete equality with their Protestant countrymen." Such absurdity was never before introduced into any publication either ancient or modern: for in the first

place, the negotiation was not entered into on behalf of the Irish Romanists, but on behalf of the routed rebel army, and the Romish inhabitants of six Irish counties only. Secondly, the first article alone extended to all the Irish Romanists, and only amounted to an implied connivance on the part of the crown at the *exercise* of their religion, forbidden by very strong prohibitory laws, upwards of a century before the capitulation of Limerick. Thirdly, all the Irish Romanists which became intitled to the benefit of these articles, were the Romish army, the inhabitants of Limerick, and a few individuals specified in the articles; for the Irish parliament refused to ratify that clause inserted in the second of those articles, by consent, after their execution, respecting the Irish Romanists under the protection of the Romish garrisons in five counties only: but if even these are to be esteemed as entitled to the benefit of the articles, they did not extend to one tenth of the Romish population of these five counties; and almost the whole of the Irish army rejected the benefit of the civil articles, refused the oath of allegiance to King William and Queen Mary, the taking of which was a condition annexed by the civil articles to the benefit of them, and embarked for France, then at war with the British empire, to serve in its armies, and fight against their own country. Fourthly, the capitulation

of Limerick conceded certain specified benefits to a very small portion of the Romish inhabitants of Ireland, and particularly, pardons for their rebellion. By what kind of sophism, then, can it be maintained, that these benefits were extended to the whole Romish population of Ireland, and that it repealed, by implication, all the statutes before recited, which were in full force at the time of the capitulation; and that the Irish parliament were incapacitated by these articles from enacting in future, any laws for the security of the state, in no way contrary to these articles; or in direct contradiction to them, if the safety of the state made it necessary? An act of parliament itself cannot tie up future parliaments from repealing such act, if they judge it necessary for the safety of the state, much less can the crown, by its contracts, oblige parliament to any confirmation of, or compliance with them. From what has been urged it is clear, that all the accusations against King William, and the Irish and English parliaments, of having in any manner broken the articles of Limerick, or any of them, and all the rude, indecent, and scurrilous invective contained in the History of the Penal Laws, against King William, his parliaments, and the British and Irish nations, are utterly groundless, and the mere effusions of Romish hatred and malignity.

The next part of this History of the Penal

Laws, to be examined, is the account, contained in it, of the laws enacted in the reigns of Queen Anne and her successors against the growth of Popery in Ireland, and it will not be difficult to shew, that their provisions and tendency are consistent with the articles of Limerick, and with the laws, both in England and Ireland, repressive of the Romish superstition, so far as it is directly hostile to the civil government of a Protestant country; the justice and absolute necessity of these laws since the reign of King William, and the pitiful sophistry of the History in representing these laws as infractions of the articles of Limerick, founding all its arguments on the false assumption that these articles, in general, include the whole Romish population of Ireland, when they all, except the first, which has been always observed with exemplary favour to the Romanists, though contrary to the sanctions of the existing laws, extended only to a very few persons specified particularly in them, not in the whole amounting to one thousandth part of the population of Ireland. But it is first necessary to make some observations on the contents of two speeches, asserted in the History, to have been made at the bar of the Irish House of Commons, in the second year of the reign of Queen Anne, against the bill then depending in that house, and which afterwards passed into a law, to prevent the further growth of Popery.

The report of these speeches is contained in Curry's books already mentioned; indeed the whole part of the History of the Popery Laws, which relates to the capitulation of Limerick, and the alleged infraction of the articles of that capitulation, by the popery laws, are extracts from, or more properly transcripts of it. Curry states, that he took his report of these speeches from a pamphlet, entitled An Account of the Debate on the Popery Laws, second of Anne. Curry however inserts no more of that debate, than suits his purpose, for he gives little or no account of the arguments on which the bill was supported in the house. Sir Theobald Butler, whose speech he gives at length, was a very eminent, able and popular Romish barrister in Ireland; he was the principal negotiator, on behalf of the Romanists, of the civil articles of Limerick. The authenticity of the speech is much to be questioned, because it is difficult to believe, that he would so materially mis-state, at the bar of the House of Commons, the articles of the capitulation, in the preparing of which he must have had a principal share, and to the original of which he was an executing party: and which articles were in the hands of every person who chose to consult them. Sir Theobald's speech commences by stating, that he appears at the bar of the house to argue against the bill, on behalf of himself *and the rest of the*

Roman Catholics of Ireland, comprised in the articles of Limerick and Galway, to offer some reasons which, he and the rest of the petitioners, only six in number, judged very material against passing the bill. In the very next paragraph, however, the speech states, that all the Irish (Romish) inhabitants in the city and county of Limerick, and in the counties of Clare, Kerry, Cork, Sligo, and Mayo, were comprised in, and intitled to the benefit of these articles; whereas the Romish inhabitants of the town of Limerick, and the Romish army in the six enumerated counties only, with some specified individuals, were entitled to any benefit under them; for in the same speech he states, that these articles were afterwards confirmed by the act of the ninth of William the Third, which act he produced and read, and this act omitted the words "and all under their protection in said counties." Now can it be supposed, that a lawyer of established character, like Sir Theobald, would make such mis-statement contrary to his own knowledge, and subject to instant detection, at the bar of the House of Commons of his own country? The speech next states, that all the Irish then in arms after the surrender of Limerick, and all their garrisons, took the oaths of allegiance to King William and Queen Mary, and were put in possession of their estates. Nothing can be more directly

contrary to the fact than this assertion; not one tenth part of the Irish then in arms took the oaths of allegiance to King William and Queen Mary; on the contrary nine tenths of them went to France under the benefit of the military articles, to continue their rebellion against their king and country. The rest of the speech proceeds with great forensian craft, and a considerable portion of sophistical reasoning, to argue against the several provisions of the Popery Act of the second of Anne, relating entirely to landed estates then in the seisin of Irish Romanists, and to prohibitions of their acquisition of such estates for the future. The argument against these, as contrary to the articles of Limerick, is, that the persons comprised in these articles, a very small part of the Romish population of the nation, had their estates secured to them and their heirs, with all the immunities belonging to these estates or themselves individually; that therefore the whole Romish population of Ireland became entitled to all the benefit of these articles in respect to their landed estates. As this argument is, in a wonderful degree, an argument from particulars to universals, its weakness is manifest; but by way of prop, is asserted, that the Irish Romanists in general, by the capitulation of Limerick, or in consequence of it, are entitled to every privilege that they were entitled to in the reign of King Charles the Second, and that all

acts of parliament, in any way regulating, abridging, or circumscribing these rights, after the capitulation of Limerick, are implied breaches of that capitulation, as well as contrary to natural justice; that is, in other words, by the capitulation of Limerick, pardon and some advantages were conceded to some Irish Romanists, a very insignificant part of the Romish population of the country, therefore they and all the Irish Romanists are not only entitled to these advantages, but for ever exempted from being subjected to any laws, to be afterwards made, to secure the country from their future rebellions, the direct effects of their religious principles. The absurdity of such argument is already exposed; the very stating is a confutation of it. In the History of the Penal Laws, a short abstract of the speech of Sir Stephen Rice at the bar of the House of Commons against the bill, is given. This gentleman was Chief Baron of the Court of Exchequer in Ireland, during the time James the Second staid in Ireland after his abdication. The histories of the times tell us, that he conducted all the business of the *quo warrantos* against the Protestant corporations of Ireland, in that unhappy period of Irish rebellion, and that he was the ablest man in the service of that unfortunate prince in Ireland. Sir Stephen admitted, "that the legislative power cannot be confined from altering, and making such laws as

shall be thought necessary for securing the quiet and safety of the government; that in time of war or danger, or when there shall be just reason to suspect any ill designs to disturb the public peace, no articles or previous obligations, shall tie up the hands of the legislators from providing for the safety of the country, or bind the government from disarming and securing any who may be reasonably suspected of favouring, or corresponding with its enemies, or to be otherwise guilty of ill practices; or indeed to enact any other law, that may be absolutely needful for the safety and advantage of the public; but such laws should be general, and not single out any particular part of the people from the rest, who gave no provocation to any such law, and whose conduct stood unimpeached from the ratification of the articles of Limerick. Sir Stephen then argued against the provisions of the act respecting real property, not as any infringement of the articles of Limerick, but as taking from a particular part of the people, who had given no provocation, what, by right of birth, and all preceding laws of the land, had been confirmed to and entailed upon them; and it must be freely admitted, that Sir Stephen's arguments were infinitely more forcible than those attributed to Sir Theobald Butler: and if the fact were, that the Irish Romanists had given no provocation,

which could justify the enacting such a law, and no reasonable suspicion of their conduct, neither before nor after the capitulation of Limerick, his argument against the law would have some weight.

This comment on these two speeches premised, the Irish code of Popery laws comes now under consideration: the necessity of this code must be first demonstrated; and a view of the situation of the country, at the time of their enaction, and afterwards, must be exposed to public view. The Irish Romanists, from the commencement of the reign of Elizabeth to that of James the First, had burst forth into two desperate rebellions, the avowed purposes of which were the separation of Ireland from the crown of England, and the extirpation of all Protestants by fire and sword. In both these rebellions they were countenanced and supported by that cruel Romish bigot, Philip the Second, King of Spain, and by the Pope, with all the thunder of his anathemas and proscriptions of the English Queen. The ruin and desolation brought upon Ireland, by each of these rebellions, are described in the histories of the times, particularly in the book intitled Pacata Hibernia, and in the tracts by Morrison, who was Secretary to Lord Mountjoy, Lord-deputy of Ireland, after the suppression of these rebellions. The country was just beginning

to throw off its barbarism, and to assume some appearance of civilization and culture, which it had acquired during the wise and prudent administration of James the First, and of his son Charles the First, when rebellion blazed forth the third time like the sudden eruption of a volcano; the objects of it were the very same with those of the two preceding; the separation of Ireland from England, the extirpation of the Protestants, and proscription of their religion. During the first year of this horrible insurrection, the Romish rebels slaughtered all the Protestants, men, women, and children, which fell into their hands, without mercy, and by the most excruciating tortures. The descendants of the ancient English, settled in Ireland previous to the reign of Queen Elizabeth, being generally Romanists, joined the native Irish in this cruel rebellion, and formed the most formidable body of the Romish insurgents: their superstition had extinguished all the sparks of loyalty to their prince, and regard for the country of their ancestors in their breasts; and they became Irish barbarians. The rebels possessed themselves of the greatest part of Ireland, and retained it; an English army, commanded by Cromwell, came to the relief of the Irish Protestants, and finally routed and dispersed the rebels, in the year 1652. The monarchy was restored in the year 1660, and

that restoration was effected in Ireland by the Irish Protestants, with the assistance of the officers of that very army, which had been led by Cromwell; many among them being zealous royalists and Protestants, who, on the subversion of the monarchy in England, had chearfully listed in the army destined to avenge the massacre of the Irish Protestants on their inhuman Romish butchers in Ireland; though it was led by a republican general. Shortly after the accession of Charles the Second, the acts of settlement and explanation passed in Ireland, and tranquillity and internal peace appeared to be restored: but alas! it was in appearance only. An interval of near thirty years expired in a kind of suspicious calm! Romanists, from the very nature, and avowed tenets of their religion, never can be faithful subjects to a Protestant government; the articles of their faith forbid it. When they are not numerous in a state, and when the constitution of it is despotic, the people at large having very little political weight, they may be peaceable and useful, but never can be faithful subjects. Bellarmine, the great champion of Popery, advises them, under all Protestant governments, where they are not strong enough to overturn the state, to be quiet, and not to bring on their own certain ruin by fruitless and unsuccessful resistance and rebellion; but to tem-

porise: telling them in such a case that the decrees of their general councils, particularly of the fourth lateran council for the destruction of all Heretics, are not binding on them, but are to be dispensed with, on the principle that self-preservation is a law of nature; and that none are bound to sacrifice themselves unprofitably. Hume makes the following observation. "It is certain that the restless and enterprising spirit of the Romish church, particularly of the Jesuits, merits attention, and is in some degree dangerous to every communion. Such zeal of proselytism actuates that sect, that its missionaries have penetrated into every nation of the globe; and in one sense there is a Popish plot perpetually carrying on against all states Protestant, Pagan, and Mahometan." (See Hume's History of England, octavo edition, vol. VIII. ch. 68, pages 69, 70.) In Ireland, the government, before the union, was partly popular, for the most powerful part of the supreme power, that is, the House of Commons, was a popular assembly, elected by the people, and the Romanists comprised the most numerous part of the people, reckoned by the poll, and consequently had very considerable influence, which was likely every day to increase, as the majority of the people, reckoned by the poll, in every commercial state, will, by degrees, attain a considerable part of the property of the

nation: and landed property particularly, is accompanied by political influence.

In this situation of the country, the Irish Romanists greedily seized on the advantage they hoped to attain by the revolution, in effecting the objects for which they had already risked three most desperate rebellions, in all of which they were defeated: the first, that of Desmond, which lasted many years; the second, that of O'Neil, which continued to desolate the country for eighteen years; the third, that of 1641, which extended its unexampled ravages to the period of eleven years. Their objects, as is before stated, were the separation of England and Ireland, and the utter extirpation and proscription of Protestants and their religion; and they immediately broke out into a fourth more formidable rebellion than any of the former. Several circumstances contributed to render the Irish Romish insurgents more powerful on this, than on the former occasions. James the Second had been, from his very early years, educated in France; his mother was a daughter of France, reared in the Romish persuasion, and very bigoted in that way: her husband, the virtuous but unfortunate Charles the First, was a real Protestant; he was attacked by a violent republican fanatic faction, and in the end murdered by them; he made, however, a very gallant resistance at the

head of his nobility, and, during the contest, his wife's Popery was of the utmost disadvantage to him, affording a handle to his rebellious adversaries of calumniating him, and of representing him to his deluded subjects as a Papist. The royal children, on the fall of the monarchy, were driven into banishment, and sought a refuge in France, where they fell to the tuition of their mother, and she perverted James, from the religion of his father, to Popery. He, being naturally a very weak prince, the moment he came to the throne, commenced the most violent and illegal operations to pervert his subjects to Popery; the English part of them steadily opposed his innovations; but a large body of his Irish subjects were already Romanists, as violent, as ignorant, and as superstitious as himself. He determined, therefore, whatever might be the fate of his project in England, utterly to subvert the Protestant establishment in Ireland, and to make it a completely Popish country. With this view he employed an Irish gentleman of the name of Talbot, a Romanist of a ferocious and resolute temper, a soldier by profession, as his Lord-deputy in Ireland, having previously raised him to the peerage. This man's operations in Ireland, in cashiering all the Protestant military officers, in disfranchising the Protestant boroughs, in disarming the Irish Protestants, in raising and dis-

ciplining an army of Irish Romanists, are already taken notice of; in short, he had completely prepared every thing necessary to support and maintain a Romish rebellion in Ireland. To add to the strength of the Romish insurgents, James, having retired, after his abdication, to France, sailed thence, after a short interval to Ireland, conveyed by a French fleet, at that time very formidable, having defeated the English fleet, commanded by Lord Torrington. James brought with him, to Ireland, a French army of five thousand men, several French Generals, a number of experienced officers, and a vast supply of arms, and all kind of military stores. The Irish Romanists were further encouraged by their certain knowledge, that James had still a considerable number of persons of rank and influence, both in England and Scotland, devoted to his service, and ready to countenance, and even to head, a rebellion in his favour in Great Britain. The Irish Romanists, thus encouraged, did not think it necessary to disguise their views. At the first burst, they confiscated the landed estates of the Irish Protestants, and passed an act of attainder against all the Protestants in the kingdom, whose names they could come at, who had, or were intitled to any property whatsoever, thus at once shewing their determination utterly to extinguish and proscribe the Protestant religion,

and all its professors. (See Archbishhop King's State of the Protestants of Ireland under King James's government.)

The army of Romanists raised in Ireland, by King James and his Lord-deputy, consisted of eight regiments of horse, seven regiments of dragoons, and fifty regiments of foot, four of which were sent to France, in lieu of five thousand French troops dispatched to Ireland to the assistance of King James. (See Archbishop King's State.) This great army, in less than three campaigns, was routed, and completely subdued by the army led by King William; a very considerable part of which was composed of Irish Protestants. From the magnitude of the Romish army, it is manifest that the rebellion was not the effect of any particular party of Irish Romanists, but was supported by the united energy of the whole Romish population of Ireland; and the conduct of such of that army, as survived their defeats and disasters, plainly proved that their misfortunes had not reduced them to despair of the success of their cause, at a future more fortunate period: for their military, at the surrender of Limerick, insisted on nothing more than their safe transportation to France, then at war with Great Britain, with the view of returning to Ireland, renovated and accompanied by a French army, again to renew, under better auspices, their

desperate scheme of tearing asunder the bands of union between England and Ireland, and extirpating the Protestant religion: and of such import were the speeches of their great officers, encouraging the troops to embark cheerfully for France, after the surrender of Limerick. Such influence had these speeches, and such was the rancour of the Romish army against the Protestant government of their own country, that almost the whole remains of their military force voluntarily embarked for France, though the officers of King William endeavoured to dissuade the common soldiers from so desperate a cause, offering to pay them for their arms, and furnish them with money to defray the expenses of their journeys to their own habitations; or to engage them in the Dutch, or other foreign service of states in alliance with King William. Such was the state of Ireland at the accession of Queen Anne; and in the second year of her reign she was engaged in a war with France, then certainly the most potent kingdom in Europe; at that very time furnished with a considerable army of her own rebellious subjects, regularly recruited and officered by the Irish Romanists; members of a religion, adopting, as points of faith, doctrines hostile to every Protestant government on earth, and bound to support and propagate such doctrines by force of arms in all Protestant states,

where their numbers and power afforded them probable hopes of success; forming, in every popular Protestant state, a faction, under the mask of religion, dangerous to such state in proportion to the power and abilities of its votaries.

Under these circumstances, the repeal of the whole Popery code, enacted in the reign of Queen Anne, was imperiously demanded, as absolutely necessary to maintain the constitution in church and state, and to disable the Irish Romanists from wasting and desolating the country, by repetitions of massacre, robbery, and rebellion. Their present advocates proceed, in their arguments, in their favour, to recite the hardships of the Popery code, to exaggerate them beyond their real extent, and to lament them in every strain of pathetic declamation; but at the same time they entirely hide from the view the horrible cruelties, massacres, and rebellions committed by the Irish Romanists on their Protestant countrymen, authorised and enjoined by the religious tenets which they openly profess; which induced the absolute necessity of the enaction of those laws, on the principle implanted by the Great Creator in the human breast, that is, self-preservation. If a man viewed a human creature lying almost naked on a small truss of straw, bound down to the floor by heavy galling chains, and fed on bread and water: or if he saw another wretch

bound with ropes, laid on a filthy hurdle, and in this manner dragged through a town to execution, he would no doubt be affected with great compassion for their sufferings, and, if an orator, could paint them in very pathetic language; but if the auditors knew him to be fully informed that one was a desperate maniac, and the other a most cruel and flagitious murderer, robber, or traitor, his declamations against the misery of their situation would excite only derision or contempt.

The scope of these Popery laws in Ireland, was to deprive Romanists of political power or weight, so as to prevent them from recommencing their rebellions by their political importance, all other means of prevention being found from woeful experience ineffectual. It is well known to every one, who had at all considered the nature of free popular governments, that the possession of landed property confers political power in such governments, it was therefore the object of the legislature, on the enaction of the two Popery acts in the second and eighth years of Queen Anne's reign, to lesson the political power of Irish Romanists, by dividing the landed estates then in their seisin, into equal portions among their children, in case, the eldest son of a Romanist so seised, neglected or declined to conform to the Protestant religion, within a year

and a day after the death of his father; and to preserve the estate, subject to such reasonable portions for younger children as the Lord Chancellor should think proper, and to the payment of the father's debts, to such eldest son, in case he conformed to the Protestant religion in the life time of his father; that is, to prevent his father from disinheriting him on account of his conformity. These laws also prohibited Romanists from purchasing or acquiring any freehold estate, or any estate in lands, save interests by leases for thirty-one years at a rent not less than two-thirds of the real yearly value of the land. If a Romanist, however, should attempt to procure any other landed interest, he could hold it only for the benefit of the first Protestant who should discover, and sue for it. Such was the scope of the Popery laws enacted in the reign of Queen Anne, and which have been so much complained of, and their provisions most pathetically declaimed against by Doctor Curry and Mr. Edmund Burke. They have been repealed many years since; yet are set forth as instances of Protestant oppression of the Irish Romanists in the History of the Penal Laws. It is to be observed, that these laws did not take away one acre of land, of which a Romanist was seised at the times of their enaction, from himself and his children. They provided for his wife, and

younger children, and for the payment of his *bonâ fide* debts; they prohibited him from the acquisition of additional landed property, but they left him the free and unconstrained possession and enjoyment of his personal property; and his personal liberty, and rights were as well secured to him as to his Protestant fellow-subjects. They in no manner infringed the civil articles of Limerick, for these articles extended only to their military men; the words "and those under their protection in five counties only," being never sanctioned by parliament, are, therefore, absolute nullities with the knowledge and by the agreement of the negotiating parties. Almost all their military men went off to France, rejecting all benefit of the civil articles; but if they had staid at home, and if the insertion of the words above-mentioned had been sanctioned by parliament, yet the articles, in respect to the mass of Romish population in Ireland, would not have been violated; not even with respect to their military men; one of these acts being passed in the year 1713, twelve years after the capitulation of Limerick, the other in 1719, eighteen years after that transaction; the state of the kingdom, then materially altered, and neither the one nor the other of them taking one foot of landed estate from any Romanist and his issue; and as the safety of the state impe-

riously required such acts, they ought to have been enacted, (by the argument of Sir Stephen Rice, above-mentioned,) even if they were contrary to the articles of capitulation: they ought not to have extended further than they were necessary, nor to any other class of people, save to the Irish Romanists; they being the only class of people hostile to the state, and from whom the state could apprehend any danger.

The History of the Penal Laws launches forth into the most violent declamations against the Popery laws, enacted in Ireland since the commencement of the reign of Queen Anne; it styles them Penal Laws, whereas, in truth, they were remedial, calculated to prevent the acquisition of political power by a sect, whose impotence, in that particular, is the only security to the state for their peaceable conduct; their religion forming them into a faction incurably hostile to the state. The groundless assertion, that the enaction of these laws was an infraction of the capitulation of Limerick, is over and over again repeated: they are reprobated as being contrary to the principles of natural equity, and to those of the Christian religion: they are represented as "a scandal to the boasted good faith of the *English* nation, and a mockery of that equitable religion, whose precepts are founded on the purest principles of justice and humanity."

The flourishes and rhetorical ebullitions of Mr. Edmund Burke, against these laws, are inserted with triumph; nay, the meanest efforts of Romish venom and fanaticism are not neglected. The voluminous observations of the laborious Mr. Plowden! the petulant sallies of that profound casuist, Doctor Milner! the political disquisitions of Mr. Arthur Young, the travelling agriculturist! and even the speeches of Mr. Keogh, the Romish silk-mercer, are all recited. To these are subjoined a heap of Romish petitions, presented at varions times to the King and the legislature; of which it must be observed, that they abound with all kinds of direct falsehoods and misrepresentations, as has been fairly shewn in the debates on some of them in the Irish parliament, and will be as fully exposed in the debates on them in the imperial parliament, unless the petitioners (if they shall again petition) will adopt a more impartial and moderate statement of their complaints. Letters and declarations of Romish Irish bishops are not omitted; and the Pope's agreement with Bonaparte, giving him the nomination of Romish French bishops, is inserted.

The History of the Penal Laws, with its usual accuracy, states, that the laws enacted against the growth of Popery, in the reign of Queen Anne, in Ireland, being infractions of the articles

of Limerick, are a scandal to the good faith, not of *Ireland*, but of *England*; and that they are contrary to the principles of Christianity, whose precepts are founded on the purest principles of justice and humanity. It is really astonishing, how a Roman Catholic could venture on such an appeal to the principles of Christianity, against the system of the Popery laws in Ireland. An Irish Romanist, notwithstanding these laws, was completely secured in the possession of his liberty, and security of his person, as much as any other member of the state; he had also the same security for the full enjoyment and disposition of his personal property: and as to his landed property, he was as secure in the possession and enjoyment of it as any other subject, and in the descent of it to his issue. He was, indeed, precluded from the sale or disposal of it, in case his eldest son and heir became a Protestant; and he was also precluded from the acquisition of landed property, save for the term of thirty-one years, at a certain annual rent; so that, with respect to the security of liberty, life, and property, in general, he was in a much better condition than the most favoured class of subjects of any nation now on the face of the earth. The same may be justly asserted as to political power and influence; for in no nation in Christendom has the people at large any political power; all Christian nations

are now governed despotically: the generality of them were so governed before the French revolution; and the Popery laws, with all their provisions, were solely calculated to prevent Roman Catholics from having, or obtaining, any political power. With what justice, then, is the state of the Romanists of Ireland, during the existence of the Popery laws, painted in such glowing colours, as a state of slavery and political torture? And with what justice can it be asserted, that the stripping a class of people, the inveterate enemies of the Constitution of the state, of political power, and leaving them the enjoyment of all the other privileges of the state, the mildest in its regulations of any other political community on the face of the earth, is contrary to the precepts of a religion founded on the principles of justice and humanity?

It very ill becomes the advocates of Popery to make such charges, and such appeals to the principles of Christianity. Doctor Troy, the Romish titular Archbishop of Dublin, lays it down, in a publication so late as 1793, that the decisions of general councils are of infallible authority in the Romish church. The decrees of the fourth Lateran council, particularly, quoted by Doctor Troy, enjoin the utter extirpation of Heretics, (that is, all Christians differing from the church of Rome,) and the dethronement of He-

retical Sovereigns, and all others, who either refuse or neglect to purge their dominions of them; it decrees, that all engagements entered into with Heretics, *though sanctioned by oath, are nullities in themselves.* These decrees, in the first place, not only warrant the breach of all oaths of allegiance taken by Romanists to our Sovereign, being nullities in themselves, as made to an Acatholic, or Non-catholic, that is, an Heretical Prince, but command and enjoin resistance to his government, and extirpation of all Protestants, as well as dethronement of the Monarch. The Romanists being aware of the prejudice which this ill-timed disclosure, respecting the authority of general councils, had done to their applications for political privileges, endeavoured, by various subterfuges, to lessen the face of it. He and his associates have stated, in several subsequent publications, that the decrees of the fourth Lateran council, respecting Heretical Sovereigns, and other subjects, were not decrees determining points of faith, but points regarding discipline only. The vulgar herd of Romish advocates, not understanding such subtle distinctions, allege, in their declamations and ephemeral essays, that the decrees of the fourth Lateran council against Heretics, being made six hundred years ago, are now obsolete, and worn out by age. With respect to the first

extenuation, it is incumbent on those who plead it, to shew that the decrees of a general council, respecting discipline are, as to practice, less binding on Romanists than their decrees, in points of faith, as to belief. The decrees of a general council, on points of discipline, may, perhaps, be altered or modified by a subsequent general council; but they are as binding on Romanists, in practice, till so altered or modified, as their decrees, in point of faith, are in belief. The universal practice of the court of Rome, in exact conformity with these decrees, ever since the fourth Lateran council, shews that the decrees of that council, respecting Heretics and Heretical Sovereigns, never were altered, nor modified, by any subsequent general council; but, on the contrary, were confirmed by the councils of Basil, Constance, and Trent. As to the second mode of apologising for those truly *ferocious* decrees of the fourth Lateran council, that their antiquity operates as a repeal of them, the very same argument might, with much greater force, be urged against the doctrines of Christianity, which, in point of age, precede the fourth Lateran by twelve hundred years; and these decrees have, uniformly, since their promulgation, and within the last century, been acknowledged and acted upon by the Pope and the court of Rome, as the known and established

law of the Romish church. The next expedient resorted to by the Romanists, to get rid of the unlucky disclosure of the doctrines of the Romish church, respecting the authority of the decrees of their general councils, is the publishing certain answers, stated, by them, to be received from the faculty of Divinity of Paris, from the University of Louvain in Flanders, and that of Valladolid in Spain, to certain questions proposed to them, at the desire of Mr. Pitt, which answers tend to controvert the obligation of the decrees of the fourth Lateran council, respecting Heretics, Heretical Princes, and their subjects. It is not stated upon what authority the authenticity of these answers depends; they were produced and published by a Romish Priest, of the name of Hussey, educated in Spain, the author of an inflammatory libel on the Protestants and government of Ireland, published by him under the title of a Pastoral Letter; in which he alleges that he was appointed Bishop of Waterford by the Pope. Supposing these answers to have been genuine, what weight can they bear against that of a general council, of the Pope and court of Rome, and of all the other Romish universities in Christendom? If any person wishes to know the very minute value of the opinions of Romish universities, let him read the Histories of the Reformation in England. He will there find

the opinions of most of the Italian, French, Spanish, and German universities, respecting the marriage of King Henry the Eighth and Queen Catharine, in direct contradiction one to the other; some of them holding it a lawful marriage, others, that it was unlawful, incestuous, and void; he will also find the methods by which these opinions were procured, every one of them by bribery, or the corrupt influence of the contending parties; to wit, the Emperor Charles the Fifth, nephew to Queen Catharine, and Henry the Eighth. This will teach him the contempt that is due to the garbled opinions of a few intriguing, corrupt, and ambitious leading members of a Romish University, though he should give credit to Hussey, as to the authenticity of these answers.

The decree of this fourth Lateran council, that all engagements, stipulations, or agreements with Heretics, though confirmed by oath, are, with the oath, absolute *nullities*, affords a full answer to a specious argument used by Romanists, and their abettors, against what is so often, and with so much reason, objected to them; that they do not consider themselves as bound by oaths. They reason thus—if we took the oaths of qualification for offices, and employments, and for seats in Parliament, prescribed by law, we might enjoy all the civil privileges

enjoyed by Protestants; these are the privileges we so ardently seek, yet we will not procure them, by taking these oaths, which demonstrates our sacred regard to the obligations of an oath. In answer to this argument, it is to be observed, that, by the oath of supremacy, the person who takes it, abjures the supremacy of the Pope, which supremacy is a point of faith in the Romish church, and is defined so to be by Doctor Troy, and by all other Romish divines. This is one of the oaths of qualification; and this oath no Romanist can take, because the taking it would be an abjuration of their faith, and, with them, an impious abomination; but the oath of allegiance to his Majesty (according to their faith, an Heretical Prince) being an engagement of service with, and, to a Heretic, is in itself a nullity, and, therefore, not-binding; nor can any sin or crime be attached to the taking and violating such oath, for being an absolute nullity, the oath or the breach of it cannot be imputable. With what propriety, then, does a sect of Christians, who have defiled the pure precepts of the Gospel with such detestable doctrines, or their advocates, appeal to the precepts of the Gospel, as condemnatory of the laws enacted, by the state, for its security, against the professors of such dangerous and unchristian tenets! It is already shewn, that the principles and practices of

this sect have been treated with a lenity and indulgence unexampled in the conduct of any state on the face of the earth, to the avowed enemies of their laws and Constitution, and that the Protestant government of the country has always acted towards them on the true principles of Christian forbearance, charity, and benevolence.

It is admitted in the History of the Penal Laws, that all these laws against the growth of Popery in Ireland, so pathetically complained of, have been repealed; in fact, they have been all finally repealed so long back as the year 1793; it is, therefore, not improper to ask why this odious and irritating account of them is published in the year 1808, with such misrepresentations of them, as infractions of a solemn treaty, and a reproach to the nation, as guilty of a breach of faith and of perfidy in enacting them, and as militating against all the principles of Christianity? Is conciliation the aim of this publication? Is the Protestant, defamed in the most groundless and unjust manner, to be reconciled to the Romanist, by whom, or on whose behalf, these envenomed libels of Curry are republished? Or is the Romanist to be reconciled to the Protestant by this inflammatory representation of the tortures, (to use the words of the History,) which have been inflicted on those of his sect, for upwards of a century, by Protestants, in

breach of the articles of Limerick? No, no! every person who reads this compilation, will easily see the drift of it. It is the tribute of Romish gratitude to the Protestant government of the British empire, and particularly to the Protestant government of Ireland, for releasing them from the legal restraints to which they were liable, merely calculated to prevent their relentless animosity against Protestants from involving this country in rebellion and ruin.

These Popery laws, so pathetically complained of in the History of the Penal Laws, were, as before-mentioned, all repealed in the year 1793; and certain oaths of allegiance and fidelity to the Constitution prepared and drawn up, from the declarations of their principles presented to the parliament by the Romanists themselves, were prescribed to be taken by them, to entitle them to the benefits of the repeal; and it is not unworthy of notice, that the History of the Penal Laws complains of the hardships imposed on Romanists, in obliging them to take these oaths of allegiance and fidelity, framed from their own avowed declarations, in the following terms:—"No part scarcely, in fact, of the penal code is repealed; but all of it is now the law of the land, and in full force against those Catholics who have not qualified themselves for relief from its violence, by taking the oaths of the thirteenth

and fourteenth of George the Third, chapter 35, or who may have lapsed or become converts to the Catholic religion."

Notwithstanding this repeal, in 1798, and previous to the year 1793, the whole Romanists of Ireland entered into a conspiracy, in conjunction and alliance with the French directory, to break out into rebellion, for the avowed purpose of separating Ireland, for ever, from Great Britain, and establishing a democratic republic under the protection of France. So early as the year 1795, as may be seen by the report of the secret committee of the House of Lords, of 1797, a person was dispatched to France, to negotiate with the French directory, on behalf of the Romanists of Ireland. This man is one Levins, an Irish Romish attorney; he is now, and has been for several years, the accredited agent of the Irish Romanists at Paris; appears at the court there in great splendor, and is treated as an ambassador, and his expenses are supported by the Irish Romanists. In the month of May, 1798, the Romish rebellion suddenly broke out in the province of Leinster, with the usual attendants on all Irish rebellions, the massacre of all Protestant men, women, and children, whom the rebels could get into their hands, and universal pillage. This rebellion had been hatching in, and previous to, the year 1792, as appears by

the report of the secret committee of the Irish House of Lords, in the year 1793. The report states the outrages committed by persons, styled defenders, in the counties of Louth, Meath, Cavan, Monaghan, and the parts adjacent, in the years 1792 and 1793; that they were all of the Roman Catholic persuasion, and, in general, poor, ignorant, labouring men; that they assembled generally in the night, and broke into the houses of Protestants, and robbed them at first of their arms, but afterwards they plundered their houses of every thing they could find; *and that their measures appeared to be concerted and conducted with the utmost secrecy, and a degree of regularity and system not usual in people of such mean condition, and as if directed by men of superior rank*; that large sums of money had been levied on the Romanists, by collections, throughout the kingdom, and that part of those sums had been applied, by the general committee of Romanists, resident in Dublin, and acting in the name of the whole body throughout Ireland, for the purpose of defraying the legal expenses, and the support of such defenders as were imprisoned, prosecuted, and tried for their crimes at the assize-towns of their respective counties; the report, indeed, states, that the committee had nothing before them which could lead them to believe that the body of the Roman Catholics of

Ireland were then concerned in promoting or countenancing such disturbances, or were privy to the application of any part of the money which had been levied upon them: yet many of this general Romish committee afterwards appeared to be traitors; and, as such, were banished, or absconded, from the kingdom: M'Nevin himself was one of them; the very person employed by the Romanists on two several occasions as their negotiator with the French directory: and it appears, by the report of the secret committee of the Irish Commons, in the year 1797, that this banditti, calling themselves Defenders, had, in the year 1796, spread into the counties of Roscommon, Leitrim, Longford, Westmeath, and Kildare; and that the counties in which defenderism prevailed, easily became converts to the cause of open rebellion and insurrection.

The secret committee of the Irish Lords, in its report of 1797, states, that it had been decided by the conspirators, that all persons who, from their principles or situation, might be deemed inimical to the conspiracy, (that is, all Protestants of the established church,) should be massacred, and that it had appeared to them, that the first proscribed list had been calculated by one of their leaders at thirty thousand persons. It appears, indeed, by all the reports of the secret committees

of both the Houses of the Irish Parliament, that the conspirators intended to confiscate all the lands and revenues of the church, and to seize on the rents of all the real estates in the kingdom, which belonged to Protestants of the established church, being infinitely the greatest part of the whole landed property of the nation, and to apply the whole to the support of their system of revolution, exactly copying, in such proceeding, the example of the rebel Popish assembly in Ireland, styled, by King James the Second, a Parliament, and aiming, by massacre and confiscation, with more than Catilinarian cruelty and avarice, at the total extirpation of all members of the establishment, lay and clerics.

About the same time, another conspiracy commenced in the northern part of Ireland: the chief seat of it was at Belfast, in the county of Antrim, and it had its birth with some Protestant Dissenters, connected, by trade, with America, and strongly infected with republican principles. The persons with whom it originated were not of much rank or consideration; they were almost all tradesmen or merchants, of no very great wealth; neither were they of the respectable class of Protestant Dissenters, who adhere to the doctrine and principles of the established kirk of Scotland; they were Swedes, and other sectaries, differing as much in religious

opinions from the kirk of Scotland, as they do among themselves. This motley tribe embraced the system of the United Irishmen, and spread themselves chiefly through the two counties of Antrim and Down. That famous traitor, Theobald Wolfe Tone, who defrauded the gallows by cutting his throat in the night previous to his destined execution, was their apostle, though all his relatives were Romanists. As soon as this conspiracy began to assume any thing of a respectable appearance for strength and number, the Romish committee in Dublin, already mentioned, lost no time in making an application to it, for a league, offensive and defensive, against the established government: the object of both was the subversion of that government, and the substitution of a democratic republic. The Dissenters reared in the north of Ireland, and in a part of it in which Romanists were not very numerous, and almost universally ignorant and indigent, flattered themselves that the extermination and ruin of the Protestants of the established church, and the formation of a democratic republic, without any religious establishment, would secure to them the first influence in such a state: but the Romanists throughout the other three quarters of the kingdom took a different, and a very just view of the successful issue of a rebellion. They saw, that though they were in

the northern parts of Ireland very poor, and destitute of power, yet that their number there was not contemptible; they amounted to nearly one-half of the population. That the malcontents among the Dissenters were not, throughout the north of Ireland, nearly as numerous as the Protestants of the established church, who much exceeded them in wealth and influence, and were infinitely superior to them in all other parts of the kingdom, as well in number as in consequence. They knew that the Protestant Dissenters in Ireland did not amount to a twentieth part of the Romanists; and if a democratic republic, under the protection of France, were established on the plunder, ruin, and extermination of the Protestants of the establishment, that they must have the greatest share of the plunder, and the whole political power in such a republic, and might, at their pleasure, expel the Dissenters, if they should appear dissatisfied? That their agreeing with the malcontent Dissenters, that there should be no religious establishment in their projected republic, was a farce very proper to amuse their allies, because they well knew, that in such a republic the Romish religion must, in fact, be the established one, as the whole tithes would, from the principles of the Romish faith, devolve to the Romish priests, on the extinction of the Protestant clergy, without the necessity

of any temporal law to enforce the payment, and that, though no lands should be assigned for the maintenance of the Romish clergy, yet they would procure ample revenues from the superstition of the people; no set of religionists on the face of the earth, being such adepts in the science of religious chemistry, for the conversion of almost all substances into gold, and for the extraction of that precious metal from the pockets of the Romish laity, as the Romish clergy.

The Romish committee in Dublin, acting avowedly as the organ of the whole body of Irish Romanists, selected sixteen delegates from the body, one of whom was a member of this general committee, and sent them to Belfast, accompanied by the aforesaid Tone, as the agent of the Romanists, to conclude the league already mentioned with the malcontent dissenters; and it was settled and concluded on the night previous to a day on which these dissenters, joined by the Romish negotiators, celebrated an anniversary of the French revolution with great triumph at Belfast. In the accounts of the transactions of the Romish committee, they state that they paid to Mr. Tone fifteen hundred pounds for his services; and it appears, in the reports of the secret parliamentary committees, that he was one of the persons employed, by them, in their negotiations with the French Directory. It appears, also, by

the accounts of this committee, that they paid Mr. Richard Burke, the son of Mr. Edmund Burke, who was dispatched by his father to Ireland, in the service of the committee, in the year 1792, the sum of 2,321*l.*, he staid in Ireland about six weeks. This is admitted in the History of the Penal Laws. (London edition, page 101.) If the son were so well paid for his short services, what sum must we presume that the father received, for all his drudgery, in the service of the Romanists of Ireland, for a series of years? He commenced his exertions in their favour, when Lord Halifax was Lord-lieutenant of Ireland, in the year 1761; he procured a private petition from them to be delivered to his Majesty, about that time, stuffed with the grossest misrepresentations of the misery of their situation; he appears to be a man who did not under-rate his services, or give them for nothing; his three pensions in England for twelve hundred pounds per annum each, two of them for three young lives, different lives being inserted in the grant of each pension, and the third for his own life and Mrs. Burke's, prove that he expected, and accepted, rewards, for his political exertions. The present unsettled state of Ireland, so justly attributable to the influence this gentleman acquired with the English ministry, whilst Mr. Pitt was at the helm, that great, honest, and able minister, being

utterly unacquainted with the internal state of Ireland, and irritated, justly, with the petulant conduct of some demagogues in the Irish parliament, unluckily delivered himself up, as to the management of Ireland, to Mr. Edmund Burke: the children yet unborn may have cause to rue it!

A committee of Irish Romanists, certainly, as to most of its members, of much superior rank and character, to those who formed the general committee, before the rebellion of 1798, manifest to the world, that they do not mean to leave their friends and advocates, whose services they deem of any value, unrewarded. A printed letter is openly circulated with the names of their chairman and secretary inscribed, requesting pecuniary assistance, to enable the committee to defray the expenses of their operations on behalf of the Romish body in Ireland. The expense of preparing and presenting a petition to the King or the Parliament, cannot be so great as to demand a national collection: no, no, their advocates must be generously and liberally paid!

The northern dissenting rebels listed in their ranks, a very great proportion of the Romanists in the respective counties of the north, in which the insurrection broke out, in the year 1798; they took he field pretty much about the same time with their allies in the south. No person of any

consequence appeared in arms with them. Their chief commander was a man of the name of Monroe, a retail linen-draper, in the town of Lisburn, near Belfast; their operations extended no further than to the town of Antrim, in the county of that name, and a very small part of the county of Down; they were in a few days routed and dispersed by the King's troops, quartered in and near Belfast, under General Nugent, they committed no murders in cold blood, nor did they indulge themselves in pillage. The northern rebels, when they were informed of the massacres of the Protestants, without distinction, committed and committing by their allies the southern Romish rebels, would not at first give credit to the information; they dispatched some of their body to the county of Wexford, where the Romish rebel armies, to the amount of forty thousand men, had rendevouzed, to ascertain the fact. As soon as their messengers confirmed the truth of the information, they laid down their arms and submitted to the government. Before this time, in the year 1797, a large body of the malcontents, Dissenters and Romanists, had assembled in a district of the county of Down, with an intention there to commence active operations. On this occasion, one Magennis, a Colonel among them, and a Romanist, openly proposed that they should begin their campaign with the massacre

of all the Protestants of the established church throughout the county; the leaders of the Dissenters rejected this proposal with horror; a Dissention on this point immediately ensued in the body then in arms, and they dispersed in confusion.

Different, indeed, was the conduct of the great Romish army of rebels in the county of Wexford; they were so confident of their own strength, that they did not think it necessary to preserve any mark of humanity, or moderation; true to the principles of their savage ancestors, they commenced their operations, with the most horrid massacres of all Protestants within their reach, in cold blood. On the very day when they attacked the King's troops quartered in the town of New Ross, they inclosed 186 Protestants, all old men, women, and children, in a thatched barn at Scullabogue, set fire to it at noon day, and burned them all alive; at the same time they made upwards of sixty young able Protestant men kneel in the front of the barn, and shot them dead during the conflagration: these were all peaceable farmers and their families residing in the neighbourhood of Scullabogue. The butcheries, committed by these monsters, in cold blood, at Vinegar Hill, Enniscorthy, Wexford Bridge, and various other places in the counties of Dublin, Kildare, Carlow,

Wicklow, and Wexford are notorious; yet to the astonishment of every Irish Protestant, many English gentlemen, from their uncommon atrocity, either disbelieve, or affect to disbelieve, them: they are faithfully, honestly, and impartially set forth in the History of the Rebellion published by Sir Richard Musgrave, Bart., in the Appendix to which he has accurately stated and published the undeniable documents, most of them public records, by which all the principal tracts of his History are verified, and on which they are founded. Sir Richard is a gentleman of known integrity and honour. To prove that he did not mean to publish any garbled account of these horrible transactions, he dedicated his book to the Marquis Cornwallis, then Lord-lieutenant of Ireland. This nobleman had been sent over to Ireland, by the English ministry, after the rebellion had broke out, and after the perpetration of most of the massacres, on the recal of Lord Camden, the preceding Lord-lieutenant, whose recal was greatly lamented by all the Irish Protestants, the King's loyal subjects. His successor was a nobleman remarkable for his humanity, and by his conduct after his arrival in Ireland proved that his instructions were to disarm the rebels, rather by the use of conciliatory measures, than by force. However, as he was an experienced general officer of great bravery

and attachment to the crown, there is no doubt that he was instructed also to compel submission by arms, if other measures failed.

The Protestants of Ireland were taken by surprise, not imagining that the rebellion was so near explosion; however, they quickly flew to their arms, and, with the assistance of the regular Irish army, under the orders of Lord Camden, they suppressed the rebellion, after many severe conflicts, in the course of one month. The famous battle of Vinegar Hill, which in fact extinguished the formidable blaze of the insurrection, and left nothing remaining but expiring embers, was fought at the distance of sixty miles from Dublin, on the very day that the Marquis landed in that city from England, the rebels were dispersed in various directions, and in small scattered bodies over the country, and hunted like wild beasts by the army and the Protestant yeomanry. Proclamations were, immediately on the arrival of the Marquis, published by government, offering pardon to all the rebels who would submit and surrender their arms; a few of the leading rebels were apprehended, and executed, before the Marquis arrived, but very few afterwards; in short, pardon, and every kind of favour, were generally bestowed by government on the insurgents, notwithstanding their atrocious conduct; and every method used to strifle

the voice of the Protestant loyal subjects, crying out for vengeance on the murderers of their fathers, husbands, wives, children, and relations. Under such circumstances it cannot be wondered, that the Marquis Cornwallis caused his secretary to write to Sir Richard Musgrave, the disapprobation of his History of the Rebellion, and to publish it in the daily prints, which is quoted in the History of the Penal Laws, and in every other production of the press in favour of Popery. It is, however, to be remarked, that this disapprobation of Sir Richard's History of the Rebellion, does not contain the smallest hint, that any part of it is, in any particular, untrue; but that it tends strongly to revive the dreadful "animosities which had so long distracted the country, and which it is the duty of every good subject to endeavour to compose." Nothing can, in a more decided manner, express the resolutions of the then English ministry, in favour of these sanguinary Irish rebels, and their determination to support them against the Irish Protestants, the only loyal subjects of his majesty in that country, than this censure of the Marquis on the publication of Sir Richard's book, of unimpeachable truth; and demonstrated the nature of the Marquis's instructions. The most cruel massacre of about several thousand Protestants in cold blood, had been committed in open day,

by the Irish rebels: this rebellion had been hatching from the year 1792, as may be seen by the report of the secret committee of the House of Lords of 1793. In the year 1793, all the Popery laws had been finally repealed; in 1798, this rebellion broke out: the whole massacre was committed by the rebels of the south of Ireland, who assembled in the county of Wexford, and who were, to a man, Romanists; the unhappy Bagenal Harvey, and one or two more excepted. This gentleman was seduced into the society of United Irishmen; he was educated a Protestant, but had deeply imbibed the democratic principles of the Jacobins. The rebels appointed him, shortly after their rising, one of their generals; but as he, in vain, endeavoured to restrain them from murder and robbery, they quickly displaced him, and he was heard to lament his situation, declaring, that if they succeeded, he should be murdered; if they were defeated he should be hanged. His prediction proved true. Nothing could show more forcibly the good policy, nay the necessity of the Popery laws, than the breaking out of this rebellion in 1798, just five years after the repeal of them. From the commencement of their enaction, after the surrender of Limerick, till the year 1798, above a century, Ireland continued free from rebellion; the laws were generally

executed, except in some particular instances, when they were interrupted by fugacious mobbing in separate counties: the laws had sufficient power to suppress such riots; the Popery laws insured public tranquillity. Impotence, the effect of these laws, not inclination, restrained the Romish rebels, and the country enjoyed quiet for a much longer space of time, than it had ever enjoyed, from the accession of Elizabeth, and the establishment of the Protestant religion. If any thing could have opened the eyes of the then British ministers, and dispelled the film spread over them by Mr. Burke in respect to Ireland, this rebellion would have done it. They would have awakened from their trance, and seen clearly, not only the good policy, but the necessity, of the Popery laws, and have immediately taken the proper steps to procure their re-enaction; they pretended to be apprehensive of the power of the Irish Romanists. If they really had any such apprehensions, they were groundless: the Irish Protestants were then, and yet are, able to suppress any Romish rebellion in Ireland, unless Great Britain take a part against them. They demonstrated that, by the suppression of the last Romish rebellion, in the course of a few weeks, without assistance from England. It is proper to inform the people of Great Britain, that the first regiment which arrived in Ireland,

to assist in the suppression of this Romish rebellion, was the Buckinghamshire militia, commanded by the Marquis of Buckingham in person, accompanied by the Marchioness his wife. It did not arrive in Dublin till eight days after the suppression of the rebellion, by the defeat of the rebels at Vinegar Hill. Another regiment sent on that occasion to Ireland, was a regiment of emigrant Dutchmen, as they were styled; they were all Romanists, and were sent to Wexford, where the massacre of the Protestants was chiefly committed, and attended mass with the pardoned Romish rebels: another regiment sent to Ireland on that occasion, was the Glengarry, Highlanders, Romanists also, and the only, Scotch regiment of that religious persuasion. It must seem extraordinary, that these regiments should be called out to be sent to Ireland at this time: it is not meant to question, either the bravery or loyalty of these regiments; but the selection of them for such a service, at such a time, did not escape the observation of the Irish Protestants. In truth, the power of the Romish faction in Ireland is not formidable, it is not composed of men of property in any proportion to their numbers, and their numbers are grossly exaggerated; they can form at best but a rabble without wealth arms, officers, or men of consequence to head them; in such case their numbers are but an in-

cumbrance, as to any military effect. There is no other way of accounting for the strange conduct of the British ministry in Ireland, on the suppression of the last Romish rebellion, but by the misrepresentations respecting the true state of Ireland, impressed on their minds by the late Mr. Edmund Burke.

It is pretty evident, that the favour shewn to the Irish Romanists, on the suppression of that rebellion, did not reconcile a single Irish Romanist to the government; for a body of one thousand French only, invaded the country, under the command of General Humbert, a few months after its suppression; they landed in a remote part of Ireland on the western coast; though they were such a handful of men, they were instantly joined by the whole Romish population of the adjacent country, and met with such assistance, that they were able to penetrate into the centre of the nation, and to advance within fifty miles of Dublin, before they were finally subdued. On the first attack they made on the King's troops at Castlebar, all the Romish soldiers of a regiment of militia deserted to them in a body, and another regiment of militia, the common men being mostly Romanists, deserted their officers, and ran away without firing a shot. The Marquis Cornwallis was obliged to march against them in person, and to assemble a regular army of near

eleven thousand men, to encounter about eight hundred miserable squalid Frenchmen, aided by their numerous Romish Irish allies. A Romish physician of eminence in the county of Mayo, who had lived in great intimacy with many of the Protestant gentlemen of the county, and been entertained at their houses; after the defeat of the King's troops at Castlebar, repaired to General Humbert, at the head of a great number of the Romish farmers, yeomen, and gentry of the adjacent country; the General at that time sitting in a window of the second floor of a house fronting the street; and openly and loudly petitioned him, from the street, for permission to inclose all the Protestants they had there in their power, in the church of the town, to set fire to it, and to burn alive all the Protestants inclosed, emphatically intreating him: "to indulge them thus in one hour's revenge for a hundred years of slavery." This horrible petition the General rejected, as was to be expected from a soldier.

This conduct of the Marquis Cornwallis, or rather of the British ministry, under whose instructions he acted, to Sir Richard Musgrave, cannot be dismissed without observing, that in no one instance did King James the Second display his partiality to Popery in stronger colours than it was here displayed by a Protestant British ministry. There never was any disappro-

bation expressed by the British nation, its ministers, or servants, of the publication of the horrible massacre committed by the Romish Irish rebels in the year 1641; it never was objected against such publication, that the consigning faithfully to the page of history, such examples of the cruelty and barbarity of Romish superstition, was to be reprobated on the score of its tending to continue national animosities: on the contrary, it has been always thought, and ever will be thought, that the fair recital of such horrible enormities is highly useful, as well to the present, as to future generations; to set them on their guard against a religion, the decrees of whose general councils sanctify and enjoin the sacrifice of human victims, in infinitely greater numbers, than was warranted by the doctrines of the ancient Druids, or any other detestable set of religionists, the worshippers of Moloch, who delighted in human sacrifices. Vain is the plea, that publications of such enormities serve to promote national animosities: let the blame of such a consequence be on the heads of the perpetrators of such wickedness. Is a voracious tyger to be suffered to prowl unresisted, to tear and lacerate the people, and to feast on their vitals, without raising the hue and cry against him? Are the voices of slaughtered and tortured innocents to be stifled on earth when it ascends to heaven, and

calls at the throne of mercy and justice for relief and redress? Are murderers and robbers to be allowed, not only to escape with impunity, but to be honoured with rewards, and their crimes concealed and buried in oblivion? Will Irish Protestants sheath their swords, and suffer themselves, their wives, their children, and their relatives to be slaughtered before their eyes, and then obey the command to stifle their complaints for fear they should cause animosity? Could the English ministry be so absurd, to hope that this last Romish massacre, committed in the open day, and in the presence of thousands, should be obliterated from the page of faithful history? If they entertain any such hope they are, praised be God, disappointed; it is faithfully transmitted to the historic page; the memory of it is alive in the minds not only of Irish, but of British Protestants; and the just God will certainly punish the perpetrators, though they have been protected in this world, and attempts made to obliterate the memory of their crimes.

A Romish priest, of the name of Caulfield, titular Bishop of Ferns, published a pamphlet, censuring that part of Sir Richard Musgrave's History, which implicated the Romish priest in the guilt of the rebellion. This was a piece of as much audacity as it was of fraud and untruth. Sir Richard published a reply to it, which so ef-

fectually refuted the assertions, and the affidavits contained in Caulfield's book, that its publication was suppressed, and in a month after the printing of Sir Richard's reply, not a single copy of Caulfield's work was to be procured at any bookseller's shop, though many copies of it had been printed, and sent for publication to the most noted places in England and Ireland. This book of Cauldfield would not have been taken any notice of here, had it not been quoted in the History of the Penal Laws. It is to be remarked, that the Irish Romish faction, and their host of hireling scribblers, have never dared to select any one material and prominent fact, stated in Sir Richard Musgrave's History of the Rebellion, and denied the truth of it, (except by the above futile attempt of Caulfield,) but have universally contented themselves with general abuse of the work, and calling it fables of Sir Richard Musgrave, *Dolus versatur in generalibus:* they know they dare not, the authentic documents are annexed, and denial would only expose them to further detection, disgrace, and conviction.

Doctor M'Nevin and Mr. Emmet, the two banished traitors, have taken refuge in America, where it appears, by the public prints, that they are not a little troublesome to the government of that country. They cannot forget their old trade of sedition, though translated to a de-

mocratic republic. However, determined not to neglect their old patrons, employers, and associates in Ireland, they have compiled, by their joint talents, a book, which they entitled "Pieces of Irish History." This book was published in the year 1807, at New York, in America, as the title page indicated, but it is more probable that it was really printed and published in Dublin, though as it is really a most treasonable and seditious publication; the Irish printer endeavoured to secure himself from danger, by circulating it as the production of the American press. The purport of this book is a justification of the Irish rebellion of 1798, and of the whole system and proceedings of the society of United Irishmen, from the birth of that confederacy to its extinction. It draws a hideous picture of what it styles the Anglo-Irish government; and endeavours to stimulate the Irish Romanists to a repetition of rebellion, by every species of false colouring and fallacious reasoning their mischievous talents could suggest to them; and it abounds with all kind of calumny and invective against the British nation, its ministers, policy, and government. This work being the joint production of two reprobated traitors, the publication of the names of its authors was sufficient to condemn it among all loyal subjects; its powers of deception were completely enervated by the known infamy of its parents.

To give it any effect, therefore, it was necessary for the Irish Romanists to introduce it as the offspring of a more respectable family. What connection this justification of 1798, and of united Irishism, had with the History of the Penal Laws, does not at first appear, but the History had a further scope than is seen in the title page. It was intended, as an argument, to prove, that Romanists have a just title to all the privileges of Protestants in the British empire; that if any of these are withheld from them, they have a just right to obtain them by force; that such exertion will not be rebellion, but a legitimate, justifiable exertion of constitutional liberty; that their power and strength, considering the present state of Europe, is sufficient to realize their pretensions, and that this is the precise time, when the empire is engaged in a desperate foreign war, to urge their claims with decision; nothing could inculcate such principles more strongly than the book of M'Nevin and Emmet; therefore, after the whole magazine of misrepresentation and invective of Dr. Curry, respecting the breach of the articles of Limerick, and the Irish popery laws, enacted after the reduction of that town, had been exhausted, and Plowden epitomised, the History of the Penal Laws resorts to M'Nevin's book. The whole remains of this History consists of extracts copied, almost literally, from it; the variations be-

ing only such as were necessary to guard against the danger of legal prosecution. These extracts are here and there interlarded with copies of prolix and fraudulent petitions and declarations of principles of Romanists, from time to time, presented to the legislature, and to government. These extracts from the writings of this pair of traitors, and of these voluminous petitions and declarations of the principles of Romanists, directly militating against their real principles, as stated by their most learned writers, and warranted by their practice, have been already sufficiently animadverted upon; it will be, therefore, the business of the remainder of this work to mark the extracts from M'Nevin's book, inserted in this History of the Penal Laws, by referring to the pages of each book to expose the plagiarism, and to insert a few observations on some very extraordinary passages towards the conclusion of the History.

This History, from page 87 of the London edition of it, published by Harding, No. 36, St. James's-street, to page 141, is entirely taken, as to all its facts, and generally, its reasoning, from the book of M'Nevin and Emmet, beginning at page 12, and ending at page 91, in many parts of it, literally: as for instance, from page 128 to 133 of the History, it is copied literally from the 46th, 47th, and 48th pages of the book of M'Ne-

vin and Emmet; and in many other instances the copy is literal. And it cannot escape the notice of the reader, with what confidence this pair of traitors assume a perfect knowledge of the private transactions of the British cabinet, for a series of years; the gross falsehood of their statements and inferences, in most cases, is fully proved in the reports of the private committees of the two Houses of the Irish Lords and Commons. It evidently appears, that the scope of the work of these two traitors, is not the justification of their own conduct; they appear to be too confident of their own merit, in the work of revolution, to think any justification needful. Part of the publication is a vain-glorious ostentation of their own consequence and talents, and of their strenuous exertions in the cause of the separation of Great Britain and Ireland, and formation of a democratic republic; the true purpose and tendency of the treatise is to justify the Irish Romish rebellion and massacre of 1798, to represent it as a war of Protestants against Protestants, by every kind of false gloss and false colouring, and to rouse up the Irish Romanists to a renewal of the rebellion. Secure of their treasonable disposition, but sensible of the present inadequacy of the party to commence the struggle with any hope of success, they cheer them with the certainty of the most strenuous and prompt succour from Bonaparte: they

endeavour, by every art, to interest the United States of America in the cause, by reprobating every American citizen eminent for zeal in his country's welfare, and averse from hostilities with Great Britain, and celebrating every considerable man in the American republic, notorious for entertaining French principles, as a friend to liberty; and thereby inducing that government at last to declare its hostility to Great Britain, and its consequent support of Irish insurrection. The Irish Romanists found that the poison contained in this book had a slow sale; the publication of the names of the proprietors proclaiming its deleterious qualities. A new title and a new vender were necessary to procure a more extensive circulation of this charlatanic nostrum, and a considerable part of it is accordingly republished in the History of the Penal Laws. These two traitors, on their banishment from Ireland, had retired to France; Bonaparte, finding them fit for his purpose, has dispatched them to America, as two of his political pioneers.

In the Appendix added to the History of the Penal Laws, is inserted the convention between the Pope and Bonaparte, but with what view it is hard to guess. The Pope, by this convention, gives up to Bonaparte, then first consul, the nomination to the archbishoprics and bishoprics of France, and the Pope agrees to give canonical

institution to the nominees, according to the terms established for France before the Revolution, and recognizes, in the chief consul of the French republic, the same rights and prerogatives, in religious matters, which the ancient government enjoyed; but it is particularly stipulated, that in case any of the successors of Bonaparte should *not be a Roman Catholic*, the rights and prerogatives beforementioned, and the nomination to the bishop's sees, should be regulated by a new convention; that is, *that the convention entered into should in such case be a nullity.* It is well known, that the Pope was, at the very time of this convention, the slave of Bonaparte, and compelled to acquiesce in all his demands; yet the convention concedes no more to Bonaparte, than what our own princes, whilst of the Romish communion, and all other christian princes, before the reformation, claimed as the undoubted rights of their crowns; which rights the Popes always disputed with them; the contentions giving rise to many barbarous wars, rebellions, and massacres, in different parts of the christian world. But what benefit can the Irish Romanists claim, or what pretension in a Protestant state can they ground on this convention? Are they ready to offer, that his majesty, our sovereign, and his successors, shall nominate all the Romish Irish archbishops and bishops, and that the Pope shall institute such as

he shall nominate, and no others, without any examination whatsoever? Are they ready to agree that no person shall be appointed Romish priest of any parish in Ireland by any of the so nominated archbishops or bishops without the king's previous approbation, as is stipulated for the French government, in the 10th article of the convention? Some of their friends proposed, that they should agree, on the death of any of the titular bishops, that a Romish priest should be nominated by the Pope; or as the Irish Romanists state, elected in some manner by their ecclesiastics, or some of them, as a successor, and that his name should be sent up for approbation to his majesty; and if he rejected the person, whose name was to be sent up, the name of another should be sent up to him; if he were disapproved of, the name of a third should be sent up; if the third also were disapproved of, no further application was to be made to his majesty, but a person to be nominated by the Pope, or elected by the Romish ecclesiastics, should be successor. This proposal was, in truth, but a fradulent expedient to give a softer appearance to the rigid and disgusting features of the Romish ecclesiastical polity, in a Protestant state, affecting the appearance of conferring some control on the Protestant government over the Romish hierarchy; whereas, in fact, it gave none, or at most, one inefficient to any good purpose

whatsoever from its minuteness. It is notorious, that the name of no person, who was not a staunch Romanist, and sworn liege man to the Pope, would be sent up to his majesty for his approbation, and that it would be a matter of total indifference to his majesty, and to the interests of his crown, which of the three to be sent up to him, or whe- any of them, were to be appointed successor to the deceased titular bishop : it might also be very difficult, if not impossible, for his majesty or his ministers, to be competent judges of the merits of any person to be nominated to him, the occult manner of their education and mode of life considered. But the measure was not barely a matter of indifference to the government, but if acceded to, would amount to a serious and destructive breach in the constitution, for it would give a legal establishment to the Romish hierarchy, and to the supremacy of the Pope, in defiance of all the laws enacted against it in the reign of Henry the Eighth, and since. The proposal, however, was made in parliament on behalf of the Romanists, and the noblemen and gentlemen, who introduced and supported the expediency of it, and its efficacy in obviating the anarchical consequences of an independent Romish hierarchy, in a Protestant state, being asked what authority they had for making the proposal, declared they were authorised to make it by Dr. Milner, a Romish

priest, said to be one of the Pope's Vicars Apostolic in England. Very shortly after Dr. Milner thought fit to deny in the public prints, and in a pamphlet written by him, that he ever authorised any person to make such proposal on behalf of the Roman Catholics, and that he would rather shed the last drop of his blood than consent that any Catholic or Non-Catholic prince should have the power of interposing, in any manner whatsoever, in the appointment of Romish prelates, or to have any influence whatsoever, in the Roman Catholic Church. He has owned, that he commissioned the noblemen and gentlemen, who made the proposal in parliament, to propose that the king should have some negative power in the appointment of the Romish titular bishops, but in his postscript to his Tour in Ireland, page 390, he states that such negative power, *under all the proposed restrictions,* could not have amounted to any real power, direct or indirect. Every person acquainted with the character of the gentleman who first made the proposal in the House of Commons, gave him full credit, knowing him to be a gentleman incapable of asserting an untruth on any occasion: they were also perfectly convinced, from his known sound understanding and acuteness, that he could not mistake the nature or extent of the proposal which Dr. Milner, as the appointed agent of the Irish Romish bishops, had authorised

him to make in their names; the Doctor, in his publication, alledging that his proposal had been mistaken. But the matter did not rest here, for the titular Irish bishops assembled on the 14th September, 1808, all, except two, attending, and came to the resolution *that they never would, under any circumstances whatsoever*, suffer the crown to interfere in the election of their clergy, and that the manner of electing the Roman Catholic prelates of Ireland, hitherto observed, should not be departed from. Six of them only voted that the part of this resolution "*under any circumstances whatsoever*" might be altered to "*under existing circumstances.*"—See the Irish Magazine of September, for the year 1809, pages 449, to 454. The insertion of the proceedings of the Romish Irish bishops on that occasion is thus prefaced in this magazine: "A full and impartial account of the late treacherous and Anti-Catholic attempt, to rob Irishmen of their hierarchy and religion, with the names of the bishops who voted for and against granting the king a veto (that is a power of rejecting from the episcopal order, any priest he pleased,) in the election of our bishops." The Romanists of the county of Kilkenny, and of many other parts of the county, voted the most flattering and emphatical address of thanks to the Irish Romish prelates, for their conduct on this occasion: yet they have so far

approved of Dr. Milner's conduct, that, on the very next day, September 15, 1808, they unanimously re-elected him their agent to transact all business for them at the seat of government in England. All the foregoing transactions demonstrate the utter impossibility of reconciling Irish Romanists to a Protestant government, or even procuring them to relax, in the slightest degree, their active hostility to it.

Their convention between Bonaparte and the Pope proves, that even this fierce military tyrant, the most despotic, and one of the most powerful that ever domineered over prostrated nations and empires, a notorious infidel, renouncing in his Egyptian manifestos and proclamations the Christian religion, yet found it necessary to compromise matters with the ecclesiastical power of the Pope, for the purpose of reconciling the nations over which he then ruled, and whose population is Romish, to his usurped authority; even he found it necessary to obtain the nomination of the prelates, presiding over the religion of his subjects, and the appointment, through their medium, of the parochial clergy, to insure the internal tranquillity of the nation, over which he had extended the iron rod of his power. The History of the Penal Laws annexes this convention to the argument for communicating the political power of a Protestant state to Romanists; they spurn the

ideas of suffering the government to interfere in any manner with the appointment of their hierarchy. Will this conduct of Bonaparte, who certainly is not deficient in political wisdom, induce a Protestant nation to confer political power on a sect of religionists, who not only withhold, with determined unconquerable obstinacy, the whole energy and power of the engine of religious influence, from the grasp of the state; but put it into the most mischievous activity against that state? No person of common understanding will resolve that question in the affirmative. Thus the History of the Penal Laws sometimes adduces conclusive arguments against the very scope and designs of its whole mass of distorted facts, and inconclusive misrepresentations.

The History of the Penal Laws states, that the British ministry, previous to the Union, had entered into engagements with the Irish Romanists, to comply with all their demands; to admit them into a full participation of the political power of the empire; and to place them, in that respect, in a state of perfect equality with their Protestant countrymen, on condition of their supporting the measure of an incorporating Union of Great Britain and Ireland; that the Irish Romanists performed the condition, yet they have not attained the promised state of equality, and that the public faith, in this respect, has been

violated; the name and authority of Mr. Pitt is introduced in support of this assertion, and the contents of two written papers, given by Marquis Cornwallis to the chief of the Irish Romanists, after the Union had taken place, and before he retired from his station of Lord-lieutenant of Ireland, are set forth, and the words "*Mr. Pitt to Lord Cornwallis,*" prefixed to them, words which were not prefixed to the original papers, when delivered by Marquis Cornwallis.

In the first place, it is to be observed, that the Irish Romanists had no power whatsoever to promote or to obstruct the Union; they had no members of their body in the Irish Parliament, by which alone the treaty for the Union with Great Britain was conducted and completed on behalf of Ireland; and, in the next place, it is to be observed, that the whole body had, repeatedly, declared their utmost abhorrence of such a measure.

Early in the year 1795, the representatives of the whole mass of the Romanists of Ireland, chosen from every considerable district, city, and town, assembled at St. Francis's Romish chapel, in the city of Dublin, to the amount of fifteen hundred, and upwards; and among other resolutions, hostile to Great Britain, unanimously adopted the following:—" Resolved, that we

pledge ourselves, collectively and individually, to resist even our emancipation, if proposed to be conceded on *the ignominious terms of an acquiescence in the fatal measure of an Union with Great Britain.*"

Pending the treaty for the Union, the principal Romanists of the city of Dublin, in 1799, assembled at the Royal Exchange: in this assembly, Mr. Ambrose Moore, a person of influence and consequence among them, was chairman; and they entered into very strong resolutions against the measure. The Marquis Cornwallis certainly, as appears from his general conduct during his administration in Ireland, paid to the Romish body a deference and attention, which their influence and dispositions neither justified nor merited; and employed some of the inferior ministers of government to procure subscriptions from partial bodies of them, and these, all of the lowest orders, in favour of the Union; but such of them, in general, as were of any consideration, either in rank or property, resisted all solicitations of that nature, and declined any support of the measure. The Marquis, in this particular, it is to be presumed, acted by instructions from the English ministry, and nothing could more strongly prove their ignorance of the true state of Ireland. The Irish Romanists had but one method of opposing the Union, and that was by

rebellion; but the utter defeat they had sustained in 1798, two years before, in such an attempt, had debilitated and disheartened them, and they therefore gave no public obstruction to the measure, other than expressing their abhorrence of it in all their harangues and conversations. It is therefore a most unfounded assertion, that the British ministry had entered into any such engagement, as is suggested, with the Irish Romanists, to procure their aid in furthering the measure of the Union. In support of this misrepresentation, inferences are resorted to from two paragraphs, one in the Act of Union, the other in a speech stated to have been made by Mr. Pitt, in Parliament, after the Union, and on his retiring from the ministry, in 1801, explaining the causes of his resignation. The inference from the Act of Union is stated to be copied from a publication of Dr. Milner, and is no less than an engagement, expressed in that statute, for the repeal of the acts enjoining the taking the oaths of supremacy and abjuration, and the repeating and subscribing the declaration, as a qualification for sitting and voting in Parliament. The inference is so absurd, and groundless, that it needs no repetition; it is drawn from the words in the clause in the statutes, whereby it is provided that all Lords and Commons, in the first and every succeeding Parliament, *until the Par-*

liament shall otherwise provide, shall take the oaths, as now enjoined to be taken.

The paragraph selected from the aforesaid speech of Mr. Pitt, published in Debrett's Debates, as stated in the History of the Penal Laws, amounts to this—that he and his colleagues in office had resigned, because they found it impossible to carry a measure, which, under the circumstances of the Union, they conceived to be of great public importance, and necessary to complete the benefits likely to result from that measure, and which, if he had remained in government, he must have proposed. Mr. Pitt did not, in any other manner, explain what the measure was, its extent, or bearings; but, in the History of the Penal Laws, the contents of the two papers delivered by Lord Cornwallis to the Romanists, in the name of Mr. Pitt, are subjoined to the speech; by which it is made to appear, that this measure was one of concession to the Irish Romanists. As to the report of this speech by Debrett, it is to be suspected, that it is not very correct. It is well known, that most of the reporters in the House of Commons are Irishmen, not of the very purest characters, either as to religion or morals; and it is also well known, that the reports of the speeches are deeply tinged with the odious colours of their own politics, so that, at present, little credit is given to their

authenticity. If, however, Debrett's report of the speeches be entitled to the praise of accuracy and fairness, the suppression of many of the most material parts of the speech made by Mr. Pitt, on the subject of his resignation, bearing on the point of his intended measures respecting Irish Romanists, is justly imputable to the History of the Penal Laws. Mr. Pitt, on that occasion, when he adverted to Irish affairs, stated, that it had been industriously reported, that he had, previous to the Union, entered into an engagement with the Irish Romanists, to put them on an exact footing with their Protestant countrymen, in all political priviliges, on condition of their supporting the Union: he, with signal emphasis, protested, that such report was destitute of all foundation, and that neither he, nor any of his colleagues in office, to his knowledge, or with his privity or consent, had entered into such, or any other engagement, with the Irish Romanists on that occasion. He also adverted to the papers, before-mentioned, given to the heads of the Irish Romanists, by Marquis Cornwallis, after the Union; and declared, that he had never written those papers, or either of them, or desired that they should be delivered to the Irish Romanists by Marquis Cornwallis. He said, indeed, that he had desired the Marquis to give the Irish Romanists, verbally, some assurances,

agreeing, in part, with the contents of these papers, but differing from them in some material points; and, particularly, he asserted, that he never authorised the Marquis to declare, that he, or his colleagues, were pledged not to embark in the service of government, except on the terms of the Romish claims being complied with. It is pretty plain, that Mr. Pitt spoke truly in this particular, for he afterwards embarked in the service of government, without making any terms whatsoever, or proposing any, for the Romanists. The truth of Mr. Pitt's assertions, respecting these papers, is further confirmed by the admission of Marquis Cornwallis himself, as stated by Mr. Plowden, who, in this particular, must be credited, as it makes against himself, in that curious tract, published by him under that more curious title, a Postliminious Preface. This gentleman had thought fit to obtrude a correspondence, respecting the papers already mentioned, on Marquis Cornwallis, immediately previous to his last voyage to the East Indies, and he gives the answers of the Marquis to two of his letters. The Marquis, in his answer to the second letter, states, that these papers were not transmitted to him by Mr. Pitt, or any one of the British ministry, but that he caused them to be drawn up himself, as thinking their contents conformable to the sentiments of the ministers; and had, under

that impression, caused them to be delivered to the heads of the Romish Irish party. The deductions made in the History of the Penal Laws, from passages, in a speech published as one spoken by Mr. Pitt, previous to the Union, will appear as unwarranted as that wire-drawn by Doctor Milner, from the clause quoted in the History, from the act of Union. On such fine spun inuendos, ridiculous deductions, suppressions of facts, and mis-statements, the breach of faith of the English government with the Irish Romanists, after the Union, is founded in this History of the Penal Laws!

It is admitted, that Mr. Pitt shewed very great favour to the Irish Romanists; that the whole Irish Popery code was repealed during his administration, and that he put them on an equality with the Irish Protestants, except in a few particulars, which, however, they may qualify themselves to enjoy, by giving the same security for their faith and submission to the government of their country, as all other subjects do, in the same circumstances. His political sagacity is much condemned in going these lengths, and is accountable for, only from the uncontroled influence, respecting Irish affairs, which Mr. Edmund Burke had obtained with him; his own ignorance of the dispositions, views, and interests of the inhabitants of Ireland; the occupation of his

vast and comprehensive abilities in the management of a desperate war, desolating great part, and menacing the destruction and subjugation of all, Europe; the turbulence, to give it no worse a title, of demagogues in the Irish Parliament, exposing the Irish Protestants to the suspicion and resentment of the English ministry; and, above all, that indecent and illegal proceeding of the Irish Parliament, in presuming to elect a regent, during his Majesty's unfortunate indisposition, when that nation, as admitted by its own statutes, was inseparably annexed, and united to, and dependent on, the crown of England. All these causes, operating together, induced Mr. Pitt to re-animate an expiring faction, and to call it into a mischievous activity, by way of curb on what seemed, to him, to be an unruly and ungovernable party. Whatever might be the intentions or designs of Mr. Pitt, and though he was a minister of the most splendid and powerful abilities, and of incorruptible integrity, he had no authority to pledge the nation to the adoption of all his measures; he did not claim infallibility, and he was not always of the same opinion, with respect to communicating political power to Romanists, which he displayed in some periods of his ministry. In the year 1790, in his speech against the repeal of the Test and Corporation Acts, are to be found the following para-

graphs:—" Persons professing modes of belief, which endanger the welfare of the society of which they are members, should be excluded from possessing the authority of the state and here such line of exclusion should be drawn."

" Toleration consists in a free exercise of religion according to the tenets of the professors of that religion, and in the enjoyment of the protection of the laws, not in a communication of political power."

In combating the arguments made use of in support of the bill, he used the following expressions, " Even Papists, acknowledging the supremacy of a foreign ecclesiastical Prince, must, by such arguments, be admitted to offices of power and trust." (See Historical Register, 1790, p. 14; Parliamentary Debates, vol. 27, p. 209.)

Mr. Pitt, when he became again premier, after his resignation, already mentioned, seemed to have entirely relinquished his scheme in favour of Popery, for he never mentioned it, or proposed any measure in favour of it. What the extent, or nature of this projected measure, for the further advantage of Irish Romanists was, he never explained; he could not have meant to have qualified them for sitting in Parliament, and this is one of the privileges which they loudly, I may say, imperiously, demand; the ar-

ticles of the union of England and Scotland, of Great Britain and Ireland, and the King's coronation oath, are barriers, all of which must be broken down before Romanists can enjoy that privilege. Mr. Pitt had too great a respect and veneration for the law and constitution, and too great a respect for his majesty, to originate, or to countenance, such a project.

In the act of union of England and Scotland the fifth of Anne, ch. 8, two acts of the respective Parliaments of England and Scotland, passed previous, and preparative, to the Union, for the unalterable security of their respective church establishments, are recited. That of England being for effectually, and unalterably, securing the true Protestant religion, professed and established by law, in the church of England, and the doctrine, worship, discipline, and government thereof. The English acts of uniformity of Elizabeth, and Charles the Second, and all other acts *then in force for the preservation of the church of England,* are declared perpetual; and it is enacted, that every subsequent King and Queen shall take an oath inviolably to maintain the same, within England, *Ireland,* Wales, and the town of Berwick upon Tweed; and it is further enacted, that these two recited acts, (the English and the Scotch,) shall for ever be observed as fundamental and essential conditions of

the Union of England and Scotland. It must be remarked here, that a great addition is made to the coronation oath as settled by the act of the first of William and Mary; (the bill of rights,) for this act of the eighth of Anne, provides that every sovereign of the British empire, shall swear inviolably to maintain the church of England, (in the manner it is specified in that statute, that it shall be for ever maintained) in England, *Ireland*, Wales, and the town of Berwick upon Tweed; and the manner in which it is to be maintained by that statute, is, by the perpetual preservation of the two acts of uniformity of Elizabeth, and Charles the Second, and all *other* acts then in force, for the preservation of the church of England. These other acts are the thirtieth of Charles the Second, enacting, that no member shall sit or vote in either House of Parliament, till he hath, in presence of the House, taken the oaths of allegiance, supremacy, and abjuration, and repeated, and subscribed the declaration; the thirteenth of Charles the Second, called the Test Act, requiring all public officers to take the above oaths, repeat and subscribe the declaration, and receive the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper: the twenty-fifth of Charles the Second, called the Corporation Act, incapacitating all persons from being elected officers of any city or corporation, without having, within

twelve months previous to their election, received the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper, according to the usage of the church of England; and also requiring them to take the above-mentioned oaths. Judge Blackstone, in his Commentaries, styles these acts the bulwarks of the Constitution, and states, that they were enacted to prevent crude innovations in religion and government, and to secure the established church against perils from non-conformists of all denominations, among whom he particularly enumerates *Papists*. Can it, therefore, be imagined, that any measure which Mr. Pitt projected for the advantage of the Irish Romanists, went so far as to enable them to sit in Parliament, which can be effected by no other mode than by the repeal of the aforesaid act of the thirtieth of Charles the Second, (and of a subsequent act to the same effect, of the first of George the First, chap. 23,) which would be a breach of the articles of the Union of Scotland and England, (and, in fact, of the Union of Great Britain and Ireland,) the church of Ireland being for ever incorporated with, and made a part of, the church of England, by the fifth article of that Union; and also of the King's coronation oath, as finally settled by the aforesaid act of the eighth of Anne? Or can it be imagined, that such measure went so far, as to intitle Irish Romanists to

enjoy all offices under the crown, of every description, and all offices in corporations, which could be effected by no other means than the repeal of the two Acts of Uniformity, and of the Test and Corporation Acts, and which would be a breach of the two unions, and of the King's coronation oath? No man in his reason will suppose Mr. Pitt capable of projecting a measure so radically subversive of the constitution, and disrespectful and affrontive to his Sovereign, to gratify the ambition of Irish Romanists, or for any purpose whatsoever. It is, indeed, highly probable, that finding it impossible to conciliate Irish Romanists to the Protestant government of the country, by any reasonable concessions whatsoever, he at length relinquished all further schemes of compliance with any of their ever-increasing demands, and abandoned them, as irreconcileable enemies to the state, whose ultimate aim was separation from Great Britain; he returned to his former principles respecting them, as he did to his station of premier, and, during his last ministry, never attempted any thing in their favour.

The History of the Penal Laws states, that the conduct of the Irish Romanists, from the date of the capitulation of Limerick to the present day, has been peaceable and loyal, and the only argument of any weight whatsoever, adduced to support this statement, is, a passage in the preamble

of the Irish act of Parliament, of the 23d year of the reign of of his present majesty, chap. 21, entitled "An Act for the Relief of his Majesty's Popish or Roman Catholic subjects of Ireland." This passage recites, "That from the peaceable and loyal demeanor of his Majesty's Popish or Roman Catholic subjects, it is fit that certain restraints and disabilities to which they were liable, should be discontinued." This recital is some, but not conclusive, evidence, of the loyal and peaceable demeanor of the Irish Romanists for some time before the passing of that act, but for what length of time is not specified. If it shall be contended, that the preamble of statutes are conclusive evidence of the truth of the statements contained in them, the Irish Romanists would never quote them as evidence of their loyalty and peaceable demeanor, either previously or subsequently to the capitulation of Limerick. The reader is referred to the preambles of the several Irish acts of Parliament, respecting Romanists, from the Restoration to the year 1774, the era of the commencement of the repeal of the Irish Popery Laws; more particularly to the preamble of the Irish act of Parliament, in the 14th and 15th years of King Charles the Second, chap. 23, in the year 1662; to the preamble of the Irish act of the 7th of William the Third, ch. 3, in the year 1695; to the preamble of the 9th of William

the Third, ch. 1, in the year 1697; and to the preamble of the fifth section of the Irish act of 9th year of George the Second, ch. 6, in the year 1735.

However, it may not be amiss to examine a little into the history of that act of the 33d year of his present majesty, ch. 21. This act was introduced into the House of Commons by the Irish secretary of state, under the avowed patronage of the English and Irish governments. It was opposed by all the independent Irish gentlemen in that House; the debate on it, in its several stages, lasted many days, and it was at length carried against a minority, very respectable for its numbers; but infinitely more so from the abilities, fortunes, and characters of its component members. The whole power, influence, and intrigue of the English and Irish cabinets, were exerted in its support; it cannot, therefore, be very censurable to animadvert on the statement of its preamble, and to dispute the justice of its eulogy on Irish Romanists, as directly contradicted by their principles and practices.

The loyalty of Irish Romanists to a British Protestant government, militates against their religious tenets; for they hold, as an article of faith, that they are subject to the jurisdiction of a foreign tribunal, in all things relating to ecclesiastical matters, to which there is inseparably an-

nexed such a degree of temporal interest, influence, and authority, as is incompatible with the full exercise of temporal sovereignty. This proves alone, that they are disloyal and dangerous subjects to a Protestant estate; but, exclusive of religious principle, if the practices of the Irish Romanists be inquired into, and examined, since the Revolution, it will be manifest that they have been neither loyal nor peaceable subjects during that period. It has been already observed, that immediately after the capitulation of Limerick, a body of Irish Romish officers and soldiers being three-fourths of the remains of their rebel army, amounting to sixteen thousand men, went to France, and were employed in the armies of France, at that time, in open war with the British empire; the body of troops, from that epoch to the era of the French Revolution, were, from time to time, recruited by the Irish Romanists, and fought against the troops of their natural sovereign in all the wars, which happened during that period between Great Britain and France, with the greatest obstinacy and inveteracy; a considerable corps of Irish Romanists during that period fought against their native country in the service of Spain. These are incontrovertible facts, known to all Europe. The French and Spanish ships, and privateers, in time of war with England, during the same period, were crowded

with Irish Popish seamen. If preambles of statutes are proofs of facts, the preamble of the fifth section of the Irish statute, of the ninth year of George the Second, chap. 6, in the year 1735, deserves insertion here, it is as follows: "And whereas Papists in this kingdom have, always in time of war with any Popish state or prince, kept private intelligence with them, and other enemies of this kingdom, by means whereof several parts of the sea-coasts have been infested, and often insulted with privateers, chiefly manned by Irish Papists, who have robbed several of his majesty's faithful subjects of all their substance, by the contrivance of others their Popish friends in this kingdom." From all this it appears, that the Irish Romanists, from the surrender of Limerick to the era of the French Revolution, kept up a constant warfare against their country, as far as was in their power, and that their peaceable demeanor at home, if almost perpetual and formidable riots are compatible with a state of peace, was entirely owing to the Irish Popery code, the repeal of which was the immediate cause of the Romish rebellion, in 1798, and of all its present menacing consequences. From these incontrovertible facts, let the world judge, whether loyal and peaceable demeanor be properly applicable to the conduct of the Irish Romanists, from the Reformation to the present day, and more parti-

cularly from the date of the capitulation of Limerick

The History of the Penal Laws concludes with seven distinct inferences, which, it states, may be collected from the facts asserted to be contained in it. The sixth inference claims the first animadversion, because it is drawn, not from any facts contained, or asserted to be contained, in the preceding parts of the History; but from a note subjoined to it, which contains some singular instances of deception, calculated for the meridian of Great Britain, the people of which are in general but little acquainted with the interior of Ireland, which being the scene of action, the note and its contents there meet only with contempt. The sixth inference in the History is as follows: "This very important inference may be drawn from what has already been stated, namely, that for a long period of time, there has prevailed among the Protestants of Ireland, a very general inclination to concede to the Catholics a participation with them in constitutional privileges." It is hard to guess from what part of the History this inference is drawn. The greatest part of the History consists of the most virulent abuse of the Protestants of England and Ireland, charging them, in every page with perfidy, breach of faith, treachery, tyranny, cruelty to, and oppression of, the Irish Romanists; and, in proof of such charges, repeating all the virulent invectives con-

tained in the different publicasions of Dr. Curry, Dr. Milner, Mr. Plowden, Messrs. Emmet and M'Nevin, Mr. Keogh, and a swarm of other inferior Romish writers. The style of all the advocates for Romish political power being that of the most rancourous abuse of their Protestant fellow subjects, and of the Protestant government of the empire, to which their applications are directed, always couched in the style of insolent demand and menace, notwithstanding the real impotence of the faction, when accurately examined, on whose behalf they are made. How such conduct of the Irish Romanists can induce Irish Protestants, conscious of their own strength, immediately, to quell any Romish rebellion in Ireland, even without assistance from Great Britain, as they did that of 1798, before any such assistance arrived, to concede to them a participation with themselves in constitutional privileges, it is incumbent on the History to explain! Such conduct is in general the parent of disgust and animosity, not of friendship and conciliation.

The History, however, not solely relying on its contents to warrant this extraordinary inference, has added a note by way of proof of its intrinsic truth and reality. Before the deception meditated against the inhabitants of Great Britain, by insertion of this inference, is exposed, it is necessary to make a preliminary observation.

A very small party exists in Ireland, who are neither Romanists, Protestants, nor Christains; they are, in their principles, complete Jacobins, contemners of all religion, and only favouring any one sect whether Christians, Jews, Mahometans, or Pagans, more than another, as they think they can render it more subservient to their own views; self-interest being their only God; and their aim, as most favourable to their speculative projects of acquisition of power and riches, being the subversion of all existing establishments in religion and politics: such of these, as have been the issue of Protestant parents, are generally classed under the title of Protestants. There is also another set of persons who are lukewarm Protestants, of very moderate abilities; they are in number few, but some of them are possessed of large estates, and considerable interest; they have a devoted attachment to the Talents' ministry in England, and support, with great zeal, all the political measures of that party. The whole body of the Protestants of Ireland, with the exception of the two descriptions above-mentioned, are the firm friends of the Protestant government, and look on the measure of granting political power to the Irish Romanists, as utterly destructive of the Protestant establishment in church and state.

The note states, as instances of the disposition

of the Protestants of Ireland, to act with liberality towards the Catholics. 1st. Resolutions published by the grand juries of the counties of Kilkenny and Galway, in favour of Emancipation of the Catholics. As to these resolutions, it is to be observed, that the Romanists in these two counties are very numerous, and a very large proportion of the grand juries of both are often Romanists. Some noblemen and gentlemen in these two counties are devoted friends of the Talents' minisity, and whilst they were in power, they nominated such gentlemen sheriffs of the several counties in Ireland as were either attached to their interest, or strongly connected with such noblemen and gentlemen as were so. Grand juries are selected from the freeholders of the county by the sheriffs. Romanists are capable of being grand jurors. How many Romanists were on the grand juries of the counties of Kilkenny and Galway, which came to resolutions, in favour of what is fraudulently styled the *Emancipation* of the Romanists, it is not very material to inquire. The Romanists are very numerous in these two counties, and the grand juries who came to these resolutions were selected by sheriffs appointed during the dominion of the Talents' ministry. No reasonable person can believe that such grand juries spoke the sentiments of the Protestant inhabitants of these counties.

It is stated, in the note, that the principal nobility and gentry of the counties of Tipperary, Meath, and Waterford, have published declarations of their sentiments in favour of emancipation. The note* does not set forth these declarations, nor the names of the noblemen and gentlemen whom it pretends to have published them. *Dolus versatur in generalibus.* The truth is, some persons in these several counties, attached friends and partisans of the Talents' ministry, and some of them noblemen and gentlemen of rank and property, drew up papers, containing declarations in favour of extending the political influence of Romanists, by granting them political privileges; these papers they privately sent round to their own friends, tenants, and dependants, requiring such of them, as were Protestants, to subscribe these papers, not without intimations that, if they refused, they would be for ever excluded from the favour, countenance, and protection of the noblemen or gentlemen who caused these papers to be circulated. When, where, or by whom, by name, these papers were published, does not appear in the note; and, save with the exception above set forth, the assertion in the note; that the principal noblemen and gentlemen in these three counties, have published declarations in favour of *emancipation,* is opposed by a direct and positive nega-

tive; in truth, the body of the Protestants of these three counties have not been consulted on any such business, nor has any general meeting of the Protestants of these three counties been called. The private circulators of the papers above-mentioned, did not think it advisable to hazard any such convention of the Protestant inhabitants of these counties; and these papers do not contain their sentiments.

A third assertion in the note is, that, at general meetings of the freeholders of the counties of Galway, Roscommon, and Sligo, unanimous resolutions have been agreed to, approving of that measure, that is, of Catholic emancipation. It is not mentioned where, or when these general meetings were held in these counties, by whom they were summoned, and what notice was given of them, respectively; but it must be observed, that the Protestant nobility and gentry of Ireland, who were seised of almost the whole landed property of Ireland, after the year 1793, in which year the elective franchise was conceded to Irish Romanists, made all their Romish tenantry freeholders, for the purpose of increasing their interests at county elections; they are generally what are called forty shilling freeholders, and the possession of a wretched habitation with mud walls, and a covering of straw or rushes, with a hole through this covering to

let out the smoke, and another hole as a window, in the mud wall, to let in the light without glazing, or any stoppage whatsoever, together with an adjoining rood of ground for a potatoe garden, is a sufficient tenement for an Irish labourer to induce him to swear, that it is worth forty shillings, by the year, over his rent; and a lease of this miserable cottage and garden for his own life, at an annual rent more than the value of it, constitutes him a forty shilling freeholder. Irish Romanists, in number, hold a much superior proportion to Irish Protestants, among the peasantry, than in any other class of the Irish population; and the three counties above-mentioned being all in the province of Connaught, and very remote from the capital, on the shores of the Atlantic Ocean, abound more with Romish inhabitants, in proportion to their extent, and are less improved, than most other counties in the nation; and forty shilling, Romish freeholders exceed all other freeholders, in these counties, in a very great proportion. Such meetings, therefore, if any such were held, must have been composed almost entirely of Romanists, and if any Protestant freeholders attended, they were induced to do so by electioneering motives, or were the attached friends of the Talents' ministry; no other Protestants would venture to attend such meetings, in which they well knew the Romish

freeholders, and the Romish rabble, who were not freeholders, would outnumber them in the proportion of twenty to one; though, in property, the Protestant freeholders of these counties exceeded them in the proportion of fifty to one; in fact the opposition of a Protestant freeholder to any resolution in favour of Popery, would endanger his life in such assemblies; it is, therefore, ridiculous to produce the resolutions of such Romish assemblies in favour of themselves, as instances of the very general inclination of Irish Protestants to concede to Irish Romanists a participation of constitutional privileges.

A fourth assertion in the note is, that the Protestant inhabitants of Newry, at a public meeting, convened by the seneschal, agreed to a declaration expressing their wish, to have every thing conceded to the Irish Romanists, *provided they would consent to permit the King to nominate their bishops.* Newry is a small borough town, partly in the county of Louth, and partly in the county of Down; many of the inhabitants are Romanists. Attempts had been made to defeat the interest of the landlord and proprietor of this town, an English gentleman of rank and property, by an ambitious neighbour, through the medium of the Romish inhabitants, it being, what is usually styled, a pot-walloping borough. To counteract such attempt, a meeting of the Protestant in-

habitants was called, and resolutions in favour of what is styled Catholic emancipation, not so general as set forth in the note, entered into, with however that very remarkable proviso, *that the Irish Romanists should consent, that their bishops should be nominated by the King*. When the conduct of Doctor Milner, in the transactions which happened in the British Parliament, in the year 1808, is considered, this proviso appears of great consequence. He was appointed at Maynooth college by four Irish Romish archbishops, the third day after his arrival in Ireland; and, previous to his tour, agent, at the seat of government, for the Irish Romish hierarchy; this was before the above-mentioned transactions in Parliament. The advocates of the Irish Romanists in the Houses of Lords and Commons, in May, 1808, stated, that they had authority, from Doctor Milner, the agent of the Irish Romanists, to declare that they would consent, that the King should have a negative upon the nomination of their bishops, and that this would give a real and effectual nomination of their bishops to the crown, and was an effectual negative power: Doctor Milner was present, and heard these declarations; yet that same Dr. Milner, in his letter to a parish priest, published, by him, after these occurrences, in Parliament, declares, that he would shed the last drop of his blood, rather than consent that the

King should have any influence, direct or indirect, in the appointment of Roman Catholic bishops; but being unable to deny that he had authorised the lords and gentlemen, the advocates of the Romanists in Parliament, to make a proposal on behalf of the Irish Romanists, of agreeing to a negative power in the Crown on the nomination of their bishops, he inserted, in his postcript, annexed to a second edition of his Tour in Ireland, in page 390, the following passage, by way of defence against the charge of fraud and inconsistency. "That the negative power *under all the proposed restrictions,* would not have amounted to any real power, direct or indirect." What the restrictions were to have been, Doctor Milner has not thought fit to explain.

All this gentleman's conduct in this affair, has been approved, unanimously, by the Romish archbishops and bishops, at a meeting held in Dublin, September 15th, 1808, and he was re-elected their agent. (See a Letter in the Morning Chronicle, November 19th, 1808.) The resolutions, then, of the Protestants of the town of Newry, with the proviso annexed, cannot, with any degree of effect, be adduced in proof of a favourable disposition of the Protestants of Ireland, to Romish claims of privileges, as well from the poverty of the inhabitants in a small country town, as from the provision they have added to

it. They seem to be sufficiently aware of the mischiefs and danger of a legalized Popish hierarchy in Ireland.

The last instance contained in the note, of a disposition in the Irish Protestants, towards concession of the Romish claims, is indeed of a very extraordinary nature; it is thus:

"Thirty Orange lodges, in the north of Ireland, published an exposition of their principles last July, wherein they stated, that the object of their institution was to resist republicanism, and not religious considerations. They likewise declared their intention, not again to celebrate the battle of the Boyne." The inference deduced from the above paragraph, of an inclination in the Irish Protestants to concede to Irish Romanists a participation, with them, of constitutional privileges, is not very plain to persons of ordinary capacities; how far the epitome of this exposition contained in the note expresses the true meaning of the exposition, will best appear by inserting the exposition, itself; it is as follows: "At a meeting of the members of Orange Societies, in the district of Lower Iveagh, county of Down, Nos. 39, 62, 65, 67, 70, 71, 75, 53, 100, 113, 125, 130, 144, 235, 237, 258, 287, 288, 319, 345, 442, 530, 602, 616, 730, 792, 793, 828, and 933, held at Waringstown, on the 29*th June*, 1807,

the following resolutions were unaimously agreed on.

"Resolved, 1st. That the late efforts of our gracious Sovereign in support of the dignity of his crown, of the Protestant religion, and of our unrivalled constitution, demand our warmest gratitude and praise. That his Majesty's present loyal ministers possess our confidence, and that the exalted characters in both Houses of Parliament, who, on a recent occasion, rallied round the throne, deserve the thanks of every honest man.

"Resolved, 2dly. That as it is the duty of Orangemen, in turbulent and dangerous times, to prove, by active loyalty, and zeal, their firm attachment to their king and constitution; so, upon the establishment of tranquillity, it is equally incumbent on them to use every means for the extension of harmony and peace.

"Resolved, 3dly. That as disaffected persons, to excite public notice, and to serve their own private ends, continue to calumniate our association, we now, as we have frequently done before, hereby most solemnly assure our fellow-subjects, that *treasonable practice*, not religious opinion, is the sole object of our hostility; and that our countrymen of every persuasion, so long as they remain well affected to his Majesty's

government, are intitled to, and shall receive the strongest marks of, our respect and regard.

"Resolved, 4thly. That these are our genuine principles, from which we shall never deviate; and in conformity to them, as our country now enjoys internal peace, we will abstain on the approaching 12th day of July, being the first Old Style, from celebrating our accustomary procession, on the return of our grand anniversary, (it happened in 1807, on a Sunday), especially as we consider such assemblage in some measure unsuited to the Lord's-day, which, as Christians and Orangemen, we are bound to observe with reverence; and we trust all our brethren will avail themselves of the solemnity of that day, to implore, for their king and their country, in the present arduous crisis, the favour and protection of Almighty God.

"Resolved, 5thly. That although the above-mentioned motives induce us, for the present, to decline the form of a public meeting, we will in no wise relax our vigilance in the detection of *treasonable designs*, and in guarding against their pernicious effects; and, finally, we hope these resolutions may be accepted as a proof of the moderation of our principles, and that they will tend to remove any prejudice, which disaffection and calumny may have raised against our loyal institution. Signed, by order

"ROBERT ELLIS, Secretary."

The reader will not perceive, in these resolutions, any inclination in the Protestants composing these Orange lodges, to extend any further participation of political privileges to Irish Romanists than they then enjoyed: but, on the contrary, he will find, by the first resolution, that they express the greatest gratitude to his Majesty for supporting the dignity of his crown, the Protestant religion and the constitution, by rejecting, with disdain and resentment, the attempt made upon him, by the Talents' ministry, to surprise him into an assent to a bill, conferring new privileges, of a very dangerous tendency on the Romanists, and for his dismissal of the Talents' ministry for their attempt, and forming a new one, which the resolutions state to possess the full confidence of them, and of every honest man. The resolutions directly militate against the inferences in the History of the Penal Laws; it is also incorrect in its assertion, that these Orange lodges had determined not *again* to celebrate the battle of the Boyne. The reader will see that they resolve not to celebrate the first of July, Old Style, being the anniversary of the battle of the Boyne, in that year only, that is, in the year 1807, by any public assembly, for two special reasons; one that the country was then in tranquillity, the second that it fell upon a Sunday, which might be more usefully employed in attending divine ser-

vice, and praying for the prosperity of their king and country, than in public rejoicings and festivity.

It may not be amiss to make a few short observations here on the contents of the insertion No. 3, in the Appendix annexed to the History of the Penal Laws, with the title of "The principles of Roman Catholics from the Prayer Book which is in general use amongst the Catholics of Ireland, and which was published by Doctor Copinger, titular Bishop of Cloyne." It is meant to confine these observations to such points of this No. 3, of the Appendix, as relate to doctrines of the Romish religion, hostile to the constitution of this Protestant empire. It is stated, "that if a general council, much less a papal consistory, should presume to depose a king, and to absolve his subjects from their allegiance, no Catholic could be bound to submit to such a decree; hence it follows, that the subjects of the *King of England*, may, without the breach of any Catholic principle, renounce, upon oath, the teaching or practising the doctrine of deposing kings excommunicated, for heresy, by any authority whatsoever, as repugnant to the fundamental laws of the nation, as injurious to sovereign power, and as destructive to peace and government.

"As for the king-killing doctrine, or murder

of princes excommunicated, for heresy, it is universally admitted in the Catholic church, and expressly so declared, in the council of Constance, that such doctrine is impious and execrable, being contrary to the known laws of God and nature.

"It is a fundamental truth in our religion, that no power on earth can license men to lie, to forswear, or perjure themselves, to massacre their neighbours, or destroy their native country, on pretence of promoting the Catholic cause or religion."

In the first place, it is worthy of remark, that the above positions, purporting to be the principles of Roman Catholics, are the assertions of one Romish bishop only; and he totally omits, except in one point, *assassination* of princes, the authorities from which he deduces them: as they may appear, on a superficial view of them, totally to contradict the express decrees of their general councils in many particulars, it may be proper to examine them with some attention, because, if they be found to disagree with the express decrees of their general councils, particularly that of the fourth Lateran council, which have been ratified by the Pope and his consistory, acting in direct conformity with these decrees, ever since their promulgation; and if all other Romish divines, Doctor Troy among

the rest, have repeatedly avowed that the decrees of general councils are infallible authority, the assertions of one bishop, that Roman Catholics hold as principles of their religion positions directly contrary to these decrees, cannot receive the least degree of credit from any reasonable person. Doctor Copinger asserts, that the subjects of the King of *England* lawfully may, without the least breach of any Catholic principle, renounce, upon oath, the teaching or practising the doctrine of deposing kings, excommunicated for heresy, by any authority whatsoever; because, if a general council should presume to depose a king, and to absolve his subjects from their allegiance, no Catholic would be bound to submit to such a decree. The fourth Lateran general council does, in express terms, not only teach, but decree, that all the subjects of a prince, excommunicated for heresy, are absolved from their allegiance; and that such prince is deposed, and his dominions transferred to such Catholic potentate as may be able to seize on them. The decrees of this council, are specially recognized, acknowledged, and confirmed, by the subsequent general councils of Basil, Constance, and Trent; they are warranted by the constant practice of the Romish see, ever since their promulgation; they are declared, by all, or the great majority of the principal Ro-

mish divines, to be infallible authority in points of doctrine and morals. Where, then, is the authority of Doctor Copinger for the above assertion? Surely it is necessary for him to produce such authority, if any credit is claimed to his assertion. It is here remarkable, that Doctor Copinger uses the terms of subjects in general, not Roman Catholic subjects, and of the King of *England*, not the King of the united kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland; and as the too plainly avowed design of the Romanists of Ireland is, to sever Ireland from Great Britain, the above omissions are worthy of observation. The king-killing doctrine attributed to the Romish church, is, in this tract, renounced, and stated so to be by the council of Constance; and it is not specially recommended by the fourth Lateran council. *Deposition* of a prince, decreed by the fourth Lateran council, and *assassination*, reprobated by the council of Constance, are different transactions; but surely they are very nearly allied in effect. If an attempt be made to depose a prince, and he be a man of spirit, he will fight for his dominion, and may fall in battle: if his enemies vanquish him, and he be taken prisoner, his death is almost always the consequence. Such was the case of King Charles the First. If his enemies make him a prisoner, without a civil war, his

death is generally the consequence. Such was the case of King Lewis the Sixteenth of France; such will probably be the case (if not so already) with the Kings of Sweden and Spain, both subjected, at first, to a sequestred, rigid, and gloomy imprisonment—to a man of spirit, worse than death.

The tract then states, that it is a fundamental truth, in the Romish religion, that no power on earth can licence men to lie, to forswear, or perjure themselves to massacre their neighbours, or destroy their native country, on pretence of promoting the Catholic cause or religion. All this may be true, as between Romanists; but it is proper to examine, what is a lie, and what is forswearing, and perjury, according to the decrees of the fourth general Lateran council, in the case of the transactions of Romanists with those they style Heretics. That council decrees the utter extirpation and destruction of all Heretics, and that all agreements and conventions, made with them, though sanctioned by oaths, are in themselves nullities; if, therefore, any Romanist shall, by oath, swear allegiance to an Heretical Prince, as that is an agreement or convention with an Heretic, to do faithful service to him as as a subject, confirmed by an oath, such oath is in itself not voidable, but absolutely void, as if it never had been

taken; and the swearer cannot be bound by that which is in itself an absolute nullity; nay, he is so far from being bound by it, that he is, by the same decree, bound to destroy, by every means in his power, the person to whom he has sworn allegiance, as an Héretic; so that the violation of all óaths and promises, made to such persons by a Romanist, for the performance of any thing whatsoever, is neither a lie, nor perjury; because there can be no violation of what is in itself a nullity. Massacres, and depopulations of countries are justifiable, on the same principles, if executed by Romanists on Heretics: nay, they are absolutely commanded by the same decrees to execute them. Some feeble attempts have been made by Romish casuits to evade the notorious consequences of the above doctrines, contained in the decrees of the fourth Lateran general council; this exposition of Roman Catholic principles is one of them, with how much success let the reader judge.

Another mode of argument, Romanists make use of, contains more plausibility: it is thus—We are intitled to the enjoyment of all the privileges, we so ardently desire, provided we take the oaths, which all persons admitted to these privileges are, by law, necessitated to take. These oaths we refuse to take, and consequently deprive ourselves, for conscience sake, from such

enjoyment; that is, demonstration of our conscientious regard, to the obligation of oaths: the fraud of this argument is easily detected, by recurring to the avowed principles of Romanists. They hold, that the supremacy of the Pope is a point of faith; and that a point of faith cannot be abjured; such abjuration, of any one point of faith, would be an abjuration of all points of faith, and of their religion; and that points, which they esteem points of faith, cannot be altered, or varied, even by a general council. (See the famous Pastoral Letter of Doctor Troy, titular Archbishop of Dublin, published in 1793, passim; and the first number, in section the second, of the above-mentioned tract of Doctor Copinger, in the Appendix to the History.) But it is asserted, by the Romish divines, that the injunctions of the fourth Lateran council, respecting Heretics, and the conduct of Romanists to them, are only matters of discipline, decreed by the church; that such decrees may be altered by another general council, but that they must be obeyed by all Romanists, till they are so altered. From this it directly follows, that all promises of Romanists to, or agreements and conventions with, Heretics, though confirmed by oaths, are, in themselves, nullities; and, consequently, Romanists may make them, and confirm them by oaths, such being nullities, and

not binding, without incurring the sin of lying, or perjury, by violating them. The fourth Lateran council, or any of its decrees, are so far from being repealed, altered, or changed, by any subsequent council, held to be a general one, by the Romanists; that it is confirmed, with all its decrees, by all the subsequent councils esteemed general by Romanists; to wit, by that of Basil, Constance, and Trent.

As Romish manuals have been some time, of late, resorted to as argument, in a great assembly, and in this History of the Penal Laws, it may not be amiss to resort here to a short extract from a Romish Catechism, published and dispersed throughout the province of Munster, by Doctor Butler, who was titular Archbishop of Cashel, and the immediate predecessor of the present titular Archbishop, whose letter to Lord Kenmare, dated in 1786, is inserted in the Appendix to the History of the Penal Laws. This extract relates only to two points of Romish belief, extremely hostile to all Protestant governments, and their Protestant subjects; to wit, Papal supremacy, and exclusive salvation.

First, as to Papal supremacy, Lesson 12.

Question. Has the Roman Catholic church the marks of the true church?

Answer. It has, *and it alone.*

Q. How is the Roman Catholic church one?

A. In all its members being obliged to believe the same truths, to have the same sacraments, and sacrifice, and to be under the same visible head on earth.

Q. Who is the visible head of the church?

A. *The Pope.*

Q. Who is the Pope?

A. He is Christ's vicar on earth, the supreme visible head of the church.

Q. Why do we call the church Roman?

A. From Rome, where its visible head resides.

LESSON XI.

Q. How do you call the true church?

A. The Roman Catholic church.

Q. Is there any other true church besides the Roman Catholic church?

A. No.

Q. Why are all obliged to be of the true church?

A. *Because no one can be saved out of it.*

The mischief of the doctrine of the Pope's supremacy to a Protestant government, and that, too, a popular one, has been sufficiently proved. The dismal effects of the Romish doctrine of exclusive salvation, has been often experienced in various massacres, cruelties, and devastations, which will be repeated, from time to time, as

long as such an unchristian, uncharitable, desolating doctrine, shall have any entertainment in the human breast.

The History concludes with seven paragraphs, containing doctrines stated to be deducible from the arguments used in its prior pages. The position in the sixth paragraph, and the note to which it refers, have been satisfactorily refuted. The bare recital of the remaining paragraphs is nearly sufficient to insure their condemnation, as utterly unfounded, by any person who has perused the preceding pages, but a few observations are necessary to expose their futility.

The first paragraph is as follows. "The Catholics have to complain of three distinct breaches of faith by the government of England. 1st, In the violation of the treaty of Limerick. 2dly, In the recal of Lord Fitzwilliam. 3dly, In the treatment which they have received since the Union." As to the first, the violation of the capitulation of Limerick, it is unfounded. As to the second, the charge rests on the statements of the two banished traitors, M'Nevin and Emmet; it is as unfounded as the first. Lord Fitzwilliam, it is generally supposed, and reported, resigned his situation, on account of some difference of opinion between him and some of his Majesty's then ministers. As to the third, it is difficult to guess the meaning of the History, when it states,

that the treatment which the Romanists have received, since the Union, is a breach of faith of the government of England. If it be meant that they have obtained no new privileges since the Union, and that they were promised such, on the condition of their supporting the Union, it is utterly false that any such promise was ever made to them by any ministers. The papers delivered to their leaders by Lord Cornwallis, does not warrant the existence of such a promise; Mr. Pitt openly declared in Parliament, after the Union, that neither he, nor any of his colleagues in office, to his knowledge or belief, had entered into any engagement, or any condition, with the Irish Romanists, previous to the Union. Such engagement would have been absurd, because the Romanists had no means of promoting it, and they could not have obstructed it, save by open rebellion, which their impotence alone, both now and before the Union, when compared with the strength of the Protestants of the empire, prevents, and prevented them from commencing: and, lastly, the Irish Romanists have produced no proof, whatsoever, of such promise, nor would such promise, if made by the minister, or any set of ministers, have bound the King and his Parliament to perform it: and if such promise were made, the Irish Romanists absolved the promiser from any obligation of performing it,

for, instead of supporting, they opposed the Union, as much as they could, by publishing the most decisive resolutions against it.

The second inference in the History is this:—"They, the Irish Romanists, have to complain of having endured a greater share of insult and oppression than it ever was the lot of any other people, in any other country, to be exposed to." This paragraph is entirely unfounded. The Romanists of Ireland, during the existence of the Popery code, was exposed to no insult nor oppression whatsoever, unless laws, rendered absolutely necessary, for the preservation of the Constitution, in church and state, against a sect, which, in principles of religion, and in their conformable practices, were irreconcileable enemies to it, can be construed into insult and oppression. These laws precluded Irish Romanists from the acquisition of landed property, without taking away any part of that which they were in the legal enjoyment of before their enaction; because the possession of landed property confers political power, which they had always made a dangerous use of against the Protestant Constitution. It had also precluded them from the acquisition of certain places and employments, the enjoyment of which would invest the possessors with a considerable degree of political power and influence, which it was the direct interest of the state to

exclude them from. They were, by the laws, as well secured, as to their lives and properties, as any other class of subjects; and, under this protection of the British Constitution, they enjoyed more real liberty, and better secured property, than the most favoured subjects of any other state, now on the face of the earth, enjoys, even during the existence of the Popery code. When King James the Second applied to the Prince and Princess of Orange, for their concurrence in the measure of repealing the Test Act in England, the pensioner Fagel, minister of Holland, in his answer to the application, on behalf of the Prince and Princess, refused their concurrence; and, in such refusal, stated, "that the test was not to be considered as a penalty inflicted on the professors of any religion, but as a security provided for the established worship. That it was no punishment on men to be excluded from public offices, and to live peaceably on their own revenues and industry." What cause, then, of complaint of insult and oppression, had the Irish Romanists under the restraints of the Popery laws? This code, however, was, by the last statute in favour of Irish Romanists, enacted in Ireland in 1793, abolished, and they are now put upon a footing of exact equality with all other subjects in Ireland; for, if they give the same security for their fidelity to the Constitution, that all

other subjects are compelled to give, on their acquisition of places and employments, they become equally capable of enjoying them. They may sit in Parliament, too, on the same conditions, and even the Test and Corporation Acts in Ireland are, in a great measure, repealed in their favour. It is thus manifest, that the Irish Romanists never had any just cause to complain of insult and oppression, and that they never endured any such, during the existence of the Popery code; and that being now released from the wholesome restraints of the Popery code, they have neither cause, nor even a plausible pretence, to complain of insult and oppression.

The third paragraph is, that "the Irish Romanists can repel all charges made against them, of disloyalty to the House of Brunswick, by their conduct in three remarkable eras; that is, in 1715, 1745, and in the American war." A decisive answer to this is, that in these three eras the Popery code was in full vigour, and the Irish Romanists were restrained by their impotence, and the wise provisions of the Popery laws, from rebelling. The charge of disloyalty against them, rests on their acknowledging a foreign tribunal, and denying the supremacy of the state; and also on their irreconcileable hostility to a Protestant government, and their consequent determination to separate from England, and

establish an independent government, whether monarchical or republican; more than on their particular attachment or aversion to any particular line of our monarchs. That sect which divides the supremacy of government between a native and foreign jurisdiction, and pleads, that such a division is a principle of their religion, and that their religion also inculcates the principle of a furious hostility to the religion of the state, can never be counted loyal to the King, be he of what house he may, or to the Protestant government of the state. The fourth instance of Irish Romish loyalty to the House of Brunswick, in the year 1798, which is stated in this paragraph, is even absurdly unfounded. The History of the Penal Laws, having transcribed the misrepresentations of the banished traitors, M'Nevin and Emmet, and extracted the venom of the cumbrous volumes of Plowden, presumes that the Protestant inhabitants of the British empire, particularly in Ireland, will entertain a belief, that the rebellion in Ireland, in 1798, was not a Romish rebellion; which is just as reasonable as if it expected the reader should believe that the sun does not give light at noon-day. Some jacobins were mixed with the rebels in the county of Wexford, where the massacres were committed, and where the great force of the rebels rendezvoused; but all persons usurping the title of

Protestants, among the rebels, in the county of Wexford, did not amount to one in one thousand. Such of that description as had any command among them, at the first burst of the rebellion, were, in a few days, cashiered. In the action in which the rebels defeated and massacred a party of the North Cork militia, without giving quarter to any; and in the action in which they surprised and defeated a party of the King's troops, commanded by Colonel Walpole, they were headed by a Romanist, named Roche, who had been a permanent serjeant in a corps of volunteers, and whose brother was a Romish priest, of the county of Wexford, afterwards apprehended and hanged for rebellion. This priest was also a commander among the rebels. Murphy, another priest, was the first person who broke out into open rebellion, headed his Romish parishioners, and, in the first burst, barbarously murdered, in their own houses, the Reverend Mr. Turner, and the Reverend Mr. Burrowes, two most respectable Protestant clergyman, in the county of Wexford, and burned their houses. Murphy, another Wexford Romish priest, commanded the rebels in the famous battle of Arklow, and was there killed by a cannon-shot; another priest, of the name of Murphy, after the defeat of the rebels, near Bagenal's Bridge, was taken in his flight from the battle, and hanged at Tul-

low. The horrible massacres and cruelties committed by the rebels in the cause of the rebellion, were all executed on the Protestants, men, women, and children, who were unfortunate enough to fall into their hands; and no other reason was given by the rebels, for the slaughter and tortures inflicted on them, but that the sufferers were Protestants. Doctor Caulfield, titular Bishop of Wexford, resided in that town at the time of the massacre of the Protestants at Wexford Bridge: this massacre was executed in the noon-day; the sufferers were led, in several divisions, from the gaol of Wexford, at a great distance from the bridge, through the great street of the town, to the foot of the bridge, with music before them, playing a dead march; at the foot of the bridge they were put on their knees, and transfixed with pikes, two strong pike-men running each of them through the body, in their front, and two performing the same office on each of them behind: they were then lifted up, by the four murderers, and thrown into the river, with loud huzzas from the Romish mob surrounding them. Doctor Caulfield, during the whole transaction, was in his own house, within a few hundred yards of the bridge; and though the massacre continued for several hours, and though he had unbounded influence over the murderers, as was proved by the obedience they universally paid to protections

signed by him, yet he never interfered, nor stirred from his house, to interrupt this horrid scene of blood. He declared, that he never heard the *din. Credat Judæus!* After the publication of Sir Richard Musgrave's History, Doctor Caulfield wrote a pamphlet, contesting the truth of some facts contained in it, particularly relating to the conduct of the Romish priests in the county of Wexford, during the rebellion; in which he asserted, that none of his priests, meaning parish priests, were concerned. It is to be observed, that almost every parish has two or more Romish priests officiating in it, exclusive of some auxiliary priests, of the regular Romish orders: one of these priests is the parish priest; the other, who is generally younger, is styled the coadjutor. The fallacy of Dr. Caulfield's assertion was grounded on this distinction. The parish priest did not usually appear openly in the rebel army, though the coadjutor, or a friar, did: however, even with that subterfuge, Doctor Caulfield's assertion was not strictly true. It was well known, that the rebel army swarmed with Romish priests, some of whom were commanders. Sir Richard answered this pamphlet, and so completely developed the falsity, and exposed the fraud of it, that it never afterwards made its appearance in a bookseller's shop. The Romish population of many parishes in the county of Wexford, with

their priests at their head, went to the Protestant magistrates of the county, and took the oath of allegiance to his Majesty, a fortnight before the rebellion broke out: and it is very remarkable, that the Romish inhabitants of these parishes were the very first insurgents, and the most cruel and barbarous, in that rebellion of 1798. By such fraud, government was induced to withdraw a considerable body of troops from the county. The rebels murdered, or most cruelly treated, all the Protestant clergymen they could lay their hands on; one, a gentleman of eighty years of age, a most respectable clergyman, born, and all his life resident in, the county, distinguished for his charity, benevolence, and every Christian virtue. He was piked in the street of Enniscorthy, by a party of the banditti, one of them his own servant, whom he had clothed and fed from his early youth. It is really a matter of melancholy reflection, and subtracts much from the credit of history in general, when it is considered, that transactions which happened on the public stage of the world, are, in the course of ten years, so misrepresented in a publication, styled a History; and that it should be asserted, in the year 1808, that the Irish rebellion, of the year 1798, was not a Romish rebellion, but that, in truth, it was a rebellion of Protestants, for the purpose of murdering, robbing,

torturing, and destroying their Protestant fellow-subjects, and none others. The reader, if he can be imposed upon by such absurd misrepresentations, may be fully undeceived, by every real Irish Protestant, who was a witness of the horrors of that period, by the perusal of the reports of the secret committees of the Irish Houses of Lords and Commons, and by Sir Richard Musgrave's History of that rebellion; to which is annexed, as an Appendix, such records, such decisions of legal tribunals, such acts of state, and proclamations, as warrant, beyond contradiction, the truth of every material fact contained in his History. The Irish Romanists are so conscious of this, that they content themselves with decrying Sir Richard Musgrave's History of the Rebellion by general declamation, expressive of their acute feelings, from such an exposure of their barbarous manners, practices, treason, and superstition; without venturing to join issue on any one material fact contained in it. Such has been the conduct of the Irish Romanists in the year 1798. It was, then, incumbent on the History of the Penal Laws, to point out what conduct of the Irish Romanists, in the year 1798, could serve to repel charges, suggested, in that History, to have been made against them, for being disloyal to the House of Brunswick. If such charge had never before been made

against them, their conduct in the year 1798, would effectually convict them of disloyalty to the House of Brunswick. Our most gracious and beloved Sovereign is the head of that illustrious house, and the desperate rebellion of Irish Romanists against him, undertaken and carried on in 1798, for the purposes of the extirpation of his Protestant subjects in Ireland, and separation of that country, annexed, united to, and dependent upon his imperial crown of England, from his dominion, and tearing that jewel from his diadem, proves, beyond controversy, their disloyalty to our Sovereign, and to his renowned house.

The fourth inference, that the Romish Irish clergy have, at all times, inculcated sound doctrines, of morality, of peace, and submission to government, and of brotherly affection for their Protestant fellow-countrymen, is best met by a direct and positive negative in every particular. In support of this negative, let the decrees of the fourth Lateran council be referred to; decrees which have, in every particular, been confirmed by the subsequent councils of Basil, Constance, and Trent. By them, all faith with Heretics, that is, all persons differing from the church of Rome, is reprobated; all agreements and conventions with such, though sanctioned by oaths, are declared null and void; all ties of alliance to heretical sovereigns completely broken and dissolved; the

subjects of all such sovereigns called upon to depose them. When, therefore, Romish priests, or other Romanists, make declarations to Protestants, contradictory to these decrees, to serve their own purposes of interest, or aggrandizement, they are conscious that all such declarations are, in themselves, nullities, and, though sanctioned by oath, that such oath is not binding, but is a mere nullity; that the decrees of these councils are infallible guides in all matters of faith and morals; from all which it appears, that Romanists are perhaps the only sect of religionists in the world, which ought to be excluded from all political power in a Protestant state, and particularly in a Protestant state, with whose constitution is mingled a great portion of popular influence and power: that from the direct principles of their religion, they can give to a Protestant state no security whatsoever for their fidelity and allegiance; and that all their declarations and oaths to such state are utterly vain, and declared by their own general councils to be in themselves void and inoperative. As to the brotherly affection to their Protestant fellow-countrymen, which this influence states, that the Irish Romish clergy can shew they have inculcated into the Irish Romanists, it is one of those astonishing inferences at which the blindness of superstition, and even infantine credulity, must startle and recoil. Are all records of transactions in Ireland, since the commencement of the reign

of Elizabeth, to the present day, destroyed, and all histories of Irish affairs during that period, false and incredible! If any credit be due either to such records or histories, or to the testimony of living witnesses, the Romish clergy, particularly their friars, have been the instigators of all the massacres, devastations, robberies, and murders, committed in Ireland, by Irish Romanists, on their Protestant countrymen, during the whole period last mentioned. In the horrible Irish rebellion and barbarous massacre of thousands of Irish Protestants in cold blood, in the year 1641, the Romish Irish clergy were the instigators, promoters, and, in part, executioners. The case was the same in the Irish Romish rebellion and massacre in 1798; but if the above facts were wanting, can any doubt be entertained of the unappeasable enmity of the Irish Romish clergy to their Protestant countrymen, from the very principles of their religion? It is a known fact, acknowledged by the whole Romish sect, that they believe, as firmly as any other part of their creed, that the souls of all Protestants, immediately on their departure from their bodies, are plunged into hell, there to suffer eternal torments. This uncharitable doctrine is inculcated into them from their infancy, as may appear from the catechism, published by Dr. Butler, titular Archbishop of Cashel, before-mentioned. No doctrine that was ever

broached, is productive of more deep-rooted hatred and animosity in the breasts of Irish Romanists, against the Irish Protestants, than this of exclusive salvation. They look upon Irish Protestants as only estrays from hell during their continuance on earth, and believe them to be the living agents of Satan. The propagation of such a doctrine by the Romish Irish clergy, extinguishes every sentiment of charity or benevolence towards Protestants, in the breast of every Irish Romanist. Add to this, the principles of the general councils of the Romish church of the fourth Lateran, &c. preached up sedulously and emphatically by their clergy, particularly by their friars; and then let the reader form his opinion of the justice of the inference of the Romish clergy's brotherly affection for their Protestant fellow-countrymen. It is proper to insert here the testimony of the Irish parliament respecting the conduct of the Romish Irish clergy, in the year 1797, which cannot be supposed to be changed since, *as their doctrines have undergone no change, a boast published by all their modern writers; that their doctrines are unchanged and unchangeable.* In the ninth year of King William the Third, an act passed in the Parliament of Ireland, entitled, "an act for banishing all Papists exercising *ecclesiastical jurisdiction,* and all *regulars* of the Popish clergy, out of this kingdom." The preamble of which is as follows:

Whereas it is notoriously known, that the late rebellions in this kingdom have been contrived, promoted, and carried on by Popish archbishops, bishops, jesuits, and other ecclesiastical persons of the Romish clergy; and for as much as the peace and public safety of this kingdom is in danger, by the great number of the said archbishops, bishops, jesuits, friars, and other regular Romish clergy now residing here, and settling in fraternities and societies, contrary to law, and to the great impoverishment of many of his majesty's subjects in this kingdom, who are forced to maintain and support them, which said Romish clergy do not only endeavour to withdraw his majesty's subjects from their obedience, but do daily stir up, and move sedition and rebellion to the great hazard of the ruin and desolation of this kingdom." It is to be remarked, that since the abolition of the Popery code in Ireland, in 1793, that country is, as it were, inundated by friars; no less than eight houses of friars being openly established in Dublin, exclusive of several convents of nuns.

The fifth inference in the History of the Penal Laws is, "That Irish Romanists can prove, that their religious principles have been entirely misunderstood, and that these principles are not in any degree repugnant to their duty as loyal subjects." The only proofs produced by Irish Ro-

manists in support of this inference are, their declarations and petitions, all of which are directly contradicted, so far as they relate to their conduct to the Protestant government of the British empire in general, and as to that of Ireland in particular, by the decrees of their general councils; they are also directly contrary to the real principles of Romanists respecting Protestants and Protestant government. The doctrine of the Pope's supremacy is hostile, in the extreme, to a Protestant government, and entirely inconsistent with loyalty to such a government. All the other doctrines of their religion, set forth in the decrees of their general councils, which, with them are of infallible authority, so far as they direct their conduct to Protestant governments, are notoriously hostile to such governments; it is therefore manifest, that all their declarations and petitions directed to the Protestant government of the British empire, and inserted in the History of the Penal Laws, are fraudulent, deceitful, and evasive. They are conscious themselves that they are, by the decisions of the fourth Lateran, and of their subsequent general councils, absolute nullities, and are now made to serve their present ambitious pursuits of political power, and aggrandizement. The real principles of Romanists respecting Protestants and their governments, are too public, too notorious, to be concealed under

such flimsy blinds and masks: they are, on the present occasion, too well understood, to their great mortification.

The History closes with a very remarkable paragraph, which, from its tendency, deserves particular animadversion; it states, "it may be laid down as incontrovertibly proved, that, to the penal code which has existed in Ireland, (meaning the code of Irish Popery laws,) England has to look, as the source of all alarm she now entertains for the safety of Ireland; and to England, Ireland has to look for the cause of all the misery and degradation which at this day even, peculiarly mark her character among the nations of the world!!" The reader will first observe, that in this paragraph the Irish popery code is styled a penal code, whereas, it was only a remedial code, as to property; merely, preventive of the acquisition of freehold estates by Romanists.

Secondly, he will observe, that England is accused in this paragraph, and indeed throughout the whole History, as the source of all the insults and oppressions represented to have flowed from this Irish popery code, though the whole of the laws composing it were enacted by the Irish parliament. Thirdly, he will observe, that although this whole code was repealed in the year 1793, upwards of sixteen years ago, yet this paragraph

mentions it, as if now in existence; for it states, that to it England has to look as the source of all the alarm she now entertains for the safety of Ireland. Fourthly, he will pay particular attention to the last sentence of the paragraph, "that to England, Ireland has to look for the cause of all the misery and degradation which, at this day even, peculiarly marks her character among the nations of the world!! England at present entertains no well-founded alarm for the safety of Ireland. If she entertain any at all, she must feel equal alarm for her own safety. No danger can be justly apprehended in one country more than in the other; such apprehensions cannot be entertained, save from the chance of a French invasion, and the notorious difficulty, in the present state of the French marine, of carrying such a project into effect, if any such project be entertained by the enemy, is sufficient to dissipate such apprehension both in England and Ireland. That there is a discontented party in England endeavouring to propagate such alarms, merely for the purpose of driving their political adversaries from their places and employments, and procuring them for themselves, there is no doubt; and every disturbance or agitation of the public mind, in Ireland, is secretly fomented by, and has its origin in, that English party: but it is equally certain, that if such a party were able to excite

a fresh Romish rebellion in Ireland, the Protestants of that country are well able, and well inclined, being all faithful subjects, to suppress it, as they did that of 1798, without any assistance from England, notwithstanding all the vaunts of Irish Romanists and their adherents, and their ridiculous bombastical accounts of their numbers and power, all calculated for deception on the people of Great Britain. It is stated, that it is incontrovertibly proved, that the Irish popery code is the source of all such alarm in England, if any such exist, and as further evidence of that fact, it is notorious from all records and histories of Irish affairs, from the commencement of the reign of Elizabeth, to the era of the Revolution, that Irish Popish rebellions succeeded one another in a quick succession. Desmond's rebellion was succeeded by that of Tyrone, which lasted eighteen years; that was succeeded by the rebellion of the Earls of Tyrone, Tyrconnel, and Sir Cahir O'Dogherty, in 1613; that by the horrible Irish rebellion and massacre in 1641, which continued twelve years, till the Irish Romish traitors and murderers were finally subdued, by Cromwell, in the years 1652 and 1653. From that time the nation continued quiet, till the great Romish rebellion under Tyrconnel, at the Revolution in the year 1698, thirty-two years after the suppre

sion of the former rebellion, by Cromwell. From the time of the capitulation of Limerick, in 1691, to the year 1798, there was no rebellion in Ireland, being a space of 107 years. This term of quiet in Ireland was nearly four times longer than any other term of rest, from the bloody effects of Romish intrigue during two centuries and a half, and was entirely the effect of the Popery code, enacted before the Irish Romanists had time to repair their shattered resources. But that code was no sooner repealed, in the year 1793, than the Irish Romanists resorted to their old practices for the extirpation of the Protestants, and separation of Ireland from Great Britain; and commenced their intrigues for a new rebellion, which, when matured, burst forth in the year 1798, with its usual attendants, massacre in cold blood, and robbery of all Protestants within its vortex. Can there be clearer evidence that the Popery code operated effectually to prevent rebellion in Ireland, and that the repeal of that code is the true source of any alarm in England for the safety of Ireland, which may at present exist? The last sentence of the paragraph that Ireland, is at present in a state of misery and degradation marking its character among the nations of the world, and that England is the cause of this state, is a paragraph of signal injustice and irritation, and

is as groundless a calumny as was ever published in any country, in which a shadow of regular government is supported. This alleged misery and degradation cannot be owing to the Popery code, because such code has now no existence, and it cannot, on such ground, even if that code were at present in full existence and vigour, be attributed to England, for that code was enacted by an Irish, and not by an English, parliament. How, therefore, can the alleged present misery and degradation of Ireland be attributed to England? This passage must mean, that the misery and degradation of Ireland, among the nations of the earth, arises from its present union with England. Ireland, it can be boldly and truly affirmed, never was in a more thriving and prosperous condition than at present. The discontent of its Romish inhabitants is inspired and fomented by an English faction, to serve its own purposes of ambition and avarice; they draw deplorable pictures of the degradation and oppression of Irish Romanists, from the circumstance of their being excluded from seats in Parliament, and from a few employments, in the occupiers of which is placed the whole executive power of the state. Yet all these they may occupy on giving the same security of attachment to the constitution in church and state, which all persons of every description and religious

persuasion are compelled indiscriminately to give, on their admission to such seats and employments. In all other respects, the Irish Romanists are on a complete footing of equality with all other British subjects, and by their refusal to give such security they in fact exclude themselves. This exclusion, the unplaced politicians in England represent to them as degrading and oppressive, and excite and encourage them to frame petitions to the legislature, in fact, demanding an admission to these seats and employments, without giving these securities to the state, which all other persons are obliged to give on such admission. That is, they demand an exclusive privilege, with which no other subjects of his Majesty are indulged, as a right; and these demands they are instructed, by their English pretended friends, to make in the style of menace of resistance and hostility to the state, if their demands shall be rejected. Such is the tone of the History of the Penal Laws; but it is accompanied by the most unfounded charges of perfidy, treachery, national breach of faith, of tyranny, of oppression of the English nation, and their government towards Irish Romanists, since the capitulation of Limerick. This capitulation is every where styled a treaty; insinuating, that it was a solemn agreement concluded on the ratification of peace between two hostile in-

dependent nations, whereas, it was a capitulation granted by the clemency of British generals to a routed band of rebels; cooped up in a small town in Ireland, surrounded on all sides, desperate of relief, and incapable of making a successful, or even a protracted resistance.

To give a summary character of this History of the Penal Laws; its whole substance is a complaint of the infraction of the capitulation of Limerick by the Popery code, and of this code, which it admits has been in general repealed many years ago, was a code of tyranny and oppression, aggravating and deploring the hardships of its effects, in the most tragic and pathetic manner. It is a republication of all the calumny and abuse of the Protestant governments of England and Ireland which have been invented and propagated by Romish priests, and all other Romish writers, from the capitulation of Limerick to the present time, to irritate and inflame the minds of Irish Romanists against Great Britain; with what view and design is left to the judgment of the reader.

It may be proper to state the materials whence the whole is collected, and indeed almost literally transcribed. Mr. Plowden, already mentioned, since the rebellion of 1798, published three large volumes on Irish affairs. In these three large volumes were raked up all the filth

of Romish Irish writers, from the Reformation to the present era, flung by them on the Protestants, both of England and Ireland: they are equally acrimonious and untrue. A book herein-before-mentioned was published by M'Nevin and Emmet, stating the measures pursued in Ireland by themselves and fellow-traitors, for the purpose of promoting the interests of Popery, subverting the Protestant establishment in Ireland, and separating Great Britain and Ireland. The articles of the capitulation of Limerick, and all the remarks on it, in the History of the Penal Laws, are transcribed from Curry's book before-mentioned. From these publications, the present History of the Penal Laws is chiefly compiled. The book of M'Nevin and Emmet is literally transcribed in a large portion of the History. Mr. Plowden's work abounded with Romish misrepresentation; but its bulk and dulness were powerful antidotes to its malignity. It was, therefore, necessary, that some literary empirics should be employed to extract it from its heavy muddy menstruum, and vend it to the world in a more saleable and portable form. The History of the Penal Laws epitomises part of this work. Two other epitomes of Mr. Plowden's work have been published; one intitled, the Causes of popular Discontents; the other, an Historical Apology for the Irish Catholics; they would not have been mentioned

here, had not the Irish Romanists added to the History of the Penal Laws, as published in London, the title page of this Historical Apology; in which is inserted an encomium upon it from three Reviews, the Edinburgh, the Monthly, and the Critical. The principal warehouse, whence the materials of these two publications are furnished, is above-mentioned; it is, therefore, unnecessary to give any further character of them; indeed, the well known political principles of the Reviews by which the Apology is praised, will be sufficient to point out to the public its tendency. The materials of the History of the Penal Laws; of the Historical Apology for the Irish Catholics; and of the Causes of popular Discontents, are the same.

It is the same rope twisted at different ends. The three are calculated to mislead the inhabitants of Great Britain, in all matters, relating to Irish affairs. They can have no effect in Ireland, where the true state of the country is perfectly understood. Nine-tenths of the History of the Penal Laws are a compilation from the fraudulent misrepresentations of Curry, from the tiresome lucubrations of the laborious Plowden, and from the envenomed slanders of the exasperated, disappointed traitors, M'Nevin and Emmet; the other tenth is a composition of shreds and patches, carefully picked up from every

quarter, as rags are collected for the use of the paper-mill; and the whole grievance, on account of which the war-whoop of Popery is raised, is, that oaths and tests, for the security of the state, are imposed by law, on all persons whatsoever in the Protestant empire of Great Britain, previous to their acquisition of certain employments, and stations of political power and influence. These oaths and tests Romanists declare, that their religion prohibits them from taking or complying with; and they demand that they may be rendered capable of occupying these posts without taking these oaths, and submitting to these tests, conditions to which all persons who acquire such situations are obliged to submit; thus insisting on the acquisition of a privilege to which none other of his Majesty's subjects are intitled. The withholding this privilege from them they complain of as a dreadful grievance; and to this amount all their loud complaints of tyranny and oppression. *Hinc illæ lachrymæ!* All the laws enjoining the taking of the oath of supremacy, the act of uniformity, and all laws for the security of the church, enacted since the commencement of the reign of Elizabeth, among the rest the test and corporation acts, declared by the act of union of England and Scotland, to be perpetual and unchangable, together with the union of Great Britain

and Ireland, must be all repealed, violated, and dissolved before the Irish Romish faction can be contented. By the open menaces with which they accompany all their demands, couched under the form of petitions, and which, indeed, are most audacious requisitions, having nothing of petitions in them except the form, a stranger would be induced to believe, that they were a faction indeed; whereas, comparing them with the strength and weight of the British empire, nothing can be of less consideration. They are but a feather in the scale. It is, therefore, the wish of every faithful subject of his Majesty, that their insolent demands, at their next application to the legislative power, may be rejected with firmness, spirit, and decision; that they may be told with energy, *nolumus leges imperii Britannici mutari*; and that they may receive the answer given by the Prince and Princess of Orange, through pensionary Fagel, herein before-mentioned, to King James the Second, "That it is no punishment in men to be excluded from public offices, and to live peaceably on their own revenues or industry."

APPENDIX.

The CIVIL ARTICLES OF LIMERICK, *exactly printed from the Letters Patent; wherein they are ratified and exemplified by their Majesties, under the Great Seal of England.*

GULIELMUS & Maria Dei gratia, Angliæ, Scotiæ, Franciæ & Hiberniæ, Rex & Reginia, fidei defensores, &c. Omnibus ad quos presentes literæ nostræ pervenerint salutem. Inspeximus irrotulament. quarund. literarum patentium de confirmatione, geren. dat. apud Westmonasterium vicisimo quarto die Februarii, ultimi præteriti in cancellar. nostr. irrotulat. ac ibidem de recordo remanent in hæc verba.

William and Mary by the grace of God, &c. To all whom these presents shall come greeting, Whereas certain articles, bearing date, the third day of October last past, made, and agreed on between our justices, of our kingdom of Ireland, and our General of our forces there, on the one part, and several Officers there, commanding within the city of Limerick, in our said kingdom, on the other part. Whereby our said Justices

and General did undertake, that we should ratify those articles, within the space of eight months, or sooner, and use their utmost endeavours, that the same should be ratified, and confirmed in Parliament. The tenour of which said articles, is as follows, viz.

ARTICLES AGREED UPON

The third day of October, One Thousand Six Hundred and Ninety-One—Between the Right Honourable Sir Charles Porter, Knight, and Thomas Coningsby, Esq. Lords Justices of Ireland, and his Excellency the Baron de Ginckle, Lieutenant-general, and Commander-in-chief of the English Army on the one part, and the Right Honourable Patrick, Earl of Lucan, Piercy Viscount Gallmoy, Colonel Nicholas Purcel, Colonel Nicholas Cusack, Sir Toby Butler, Colonel Garret Dillon, and Colonel John Brown, on the other part, in the behalf of the Irish inhabitants in the City and County of Limerick, the Counties of Clare, Kerry, Cork, Sligo, and Mayo, in consideration of the surrender of the City of Limerick, and other agreements made between the said Lieutenant-general Ginckle, the Governor of the City of Limerick, and the Generals of the Irish Army, bearing date with

these presents, for the surrender of the City, and submission of the said army, it is agreed that,

1st. The Roman Catholics of this kingdom, shall enjoy such privileges, in the exercise of their religion, as are consistent with the laws of Ireland, or as they did enjoy in the reign of King Charles the Second; and their majesties, as soon as their affairs will permit them, to summons a parliament in this kingdom, will endeavour to procure the said Roman Catholics, such further security in that particular, as may preserve them from any disturbance upon the account of the said religion.

2d. All the *inhabitants, or residents* of Limerick, or any other garrison, now in the possession of the Irish, and all officers, and soldiers now in arms, under any commission of King James, or those authorised by him, to grant the same, in the several counties of Limerick, Clare, Kerry, Cork, and Mayo, or any of them; and all the commissioned officers, in their Majesties' quarters, that belong to the Irish regiments, now in being, that are treated with, and who are not prisoners of war, or have taken protection, and who shall return, and submit to their Majesties' obedience; and their, and every of their heirs, shall hold, possess, and enjoy, all and every their estates of freehold, and inheritance; and

all the rights, titles, and interests, privileges, and immunities, which they, and every, or any of them held, enjoyed, or were rightfully and lawfully entitled to, in the reign of Charles the Second, or at any time since by the laws and statutes that were in force, in the said reign of King Charles the Second, and shall be put in possession by order of the government, of such of them, as are in the King's hands, or the hands of his tenants, without being put to any suit, or trouble therein; and all such estates shall be freed, and discharged from all arrears of crown rents, quit rents, and other public charges, incurred, and become due since Michaelmas, 1688, to the day of the date hereof; and all persons comprehended in this article, shall have, hold, and enjoy, all their goods and chattles, real and personal, to them, or any of them belonging, and remaining either in their own hands, or the hands of any person whatsoever, in trust, or for the use of them, or any of them; and all and every the said persons, of what profession, trade, or calling 'soever they be, shall and may use, exercise, and practise their several and respective professions, trades, and callings, as freely as they did use, exercise, and enjoy the same in the reign of King Charles the Second, provided that nothing in this article contained, be construed to extend to, or restore any forfeiting person now out of the kingdom,

except what are hereafter comprised; provided also, that no person whatsoever shall have or enjoy the benefit of this article, that shall neglect or refuse to take the oath of allegiance,* made by act of parliament in England, in the first year of the reign of their present Majesties, when thereunto required.

3d. All merchants, or reputed merchants of the city of Limerick, or of any other garrison now possessed by the Irish, or of any town or place, in the counties of Clare or Kerry, who are absent beyond the seas, that have not bore arms since their Majesties' declaration in February, 1688, shall have the benefit of the second article, in the same manner as if they were present; provided such merchants, and reputed merchants, do repair into this kingdom, within the space of eight months from the date hereof.

4th. The following officers, viz. Colonel Simon Lutterell, Captain Rowlan White, Maurice Eustace of Yermanstown, Chievers of Maystown, commonly called Mount Leinster, now belonging to the regiments in the aforesaid garrisons, and quarters of the Irish army, who were beyond the seas, and sent thither upon affairs of their

* I *A. B.* do sincerely promise and swear that I will be faithful, and bear true allegiance to their Majesties King William and Queen Mary. So help me God.

respective regiments, or the army in general shall have the benefit, and advantage of the second article, provided they return hither within the space of eight months, from the date of these presents, and submit to their Majesties' government, and take the above-mentioned oath.

5th. *That all and singular, the said persons comprised in the second and third articles, shall have a general pardon of all attainders, outlawries, treasons, misprisions of treason, premunires, felonies, trespasses, and other crimes, and misdemeanours* whatsoever, by them, or any of them, committed since the beginning of the reign of King James the Second, and if any of them are attainted by parliament, the Lords-justices and General, will use their best endeavours to get the same repealed by parliament, and the outlawries to be reversed gratis, all but writing-clerks' fees.

6th. And whereas these present wars have drawn great violences on both parts; and if leave were given, to the bringing all sorts of private actions, the animosities would probably continue, that have been too long on foot, and the public disturbances last: for the quieting, and settling, therefore, of this kingdom, and avoiding those inconveniences, which would be the necessary consequence of the contrary, *no person or persons whatsoever, comprised in the foregoing articles,*

shall be sued, molested, or impleaded at the suit of any party or parties whatsoever, for any trespasses, by them committed, or for any arms, horses, money, goods, chattels, merchandises, or provisions whatsoever, by them seised, or taken during the time of war. *And no person or persons whatsoever, in the second or third articles comprised,* shall be sued, impleaded, or made accountable for the rents, or mean rates of any lands, tenements, or houses, by him or them received, or enjoyed, in this kingdom, since the beginning of the present war, to the day of the date hereof, nor for any waste or trespass by him or them, committed, in any such lands, tenements, or houses: and it is also agreed, that this article shall be mutual, and reciprocal on both sides.

7th. Every nobleman and gentleman, comprised in the said second and third articles, shall have liberty to ride with a sword, and case of pistols if they think fit, and keep a gun in their houses, for the defence of the same or for fowling.

8th. The inhabitants and residents in the city of Limerick, and other garrisons shall be permitted to remove their goods, chattels, and provision, out of the same, without being viewed and searched, or paying any manner of duties, and shall not be compelled to leave the houses or

lodgings they now have, for the space of six weeks next ensuing the date hereof.

9th. The oath to be administered to such Roman Catholics as submit to their Majesties' government, shall be the oath abovesaid, and no other.

10th. No person or persons, who shall at any time hereafter break these articles, or any of them, shall thereby make, or cause any other person or persons to forfeit or lose the benefit of the same.

11th. The Lords-justices and General do promise to use their utmost endeavours, that all the persons comprehended in the above-mentioned articles, shall be protected and defended from all arrests and executions for debt or damage for the space of eight months next ensuing the date hereof.

12th. Lastly, the Lords-justices and General do undertake that their Majesties will ratify these articles within the space of eight months, or sooner; and use their utmost endeavours that the same shall be ratified and confirmed in parliament.

13th. And whereas Colonel John Brown stood indebted to several Protestants, by judgments of record, which appearing to the late government, the Lord Tyrconnel, and Lord Lucan, took away the effects the said John Brown had to answer

the said debts, and promised to clear the said John Brown of the said debts, which effects were taken for the public use of the Irish and their army: for freeing the said Lord Lucan of his said engagement passed on their public account for payment of the said Protestants, and for preventing the ruin of the said John Brown, and for satisfaction of his creditors, at the instance of the Lord Lucan and the rest of the persons aforesaid; it is agreed, that the said Lords-justices and the said Baron de Ginckle, shall intercede with the King and Parliament to have the estates secured to Roman Catholics, by articles and capitulation in this kingdom, charged with, and equally liable to the payment of so much of the said debts, as the said Lord Lucan, upon stating accounts with the said John Brown, shall certify under his hand what the effects taken from the said Brown amount unto; which accompt is to be stated and the balance certified by the said Lord Lucan in one and twenty days after the date hereof.

For the true performance hereof we have hereunto set our hands. Present Scravenmore, H. Maccay, T. Talmash, Charles Porter, Thomas Coningsby, Baron de Ginckle.

And whereas the said city of Limerick hath been since, in pursuance of the said articles, surrendered unto us, Now know ye, that we, hav-

ing considered of the said articles, are graciously pleased hereby to declare, that we do, for us, our heirs, and successors, as far as in us lies, ratify and confirm the same, and every clause, matter, and thing therein contained. And as to such parts thereof, for which an act of parliament shall be found to be necessary, we shall recommend the same to be made good, by Parliament, and shall give our royal assent to any bill or bills that shall be passed by our two Houses of Parliament to that purpose. And whereas it appears unto us, that it was agreed between the parties to the said articles, that after the words, Limerick, Clare, Kerry, Cork, Mayo, or any of them in the second of the said articles, the words following, viz. "And all such as are under their protection in the said counties," should be inserted, and be part of the said articles. Which words having been casually omitted by the writer, the omission was not discovered till after the said articles were signed, but was taken notice of before the second town was surrendered: and that our said Justices and General, or one of them, did promise, that the said clause should be made good, it being within the intention of the capitulation, and inserted in the foul draft thereof. Our further will and pleasure is, and we do hereby ratify and confirm the said omitted words, viz. "And all such as are under their protection

in the said counties," hereby for us, our heirs, and successors, ordaining and declaring, that all and every person and persons therein concerned, shall and may have, receive, and enjoy the benefit thereof, in such and the same manner, as if the said words had been inserted in their proper place, in the said second article, any omission, defect, or mistake in the said second article in any wise notwithstanding. Provided always, and our will and pleasure is, that these our letters patent shall be enrolled in our Court of Chancery, in our said kingdom of Ireland, within the space of one year next ensuing. In witness, &c. witness ourself at Westminster, the twenty-fourth day of February, *anno regni regis & reginæ Gulielmi et Mariæ quarto per breve de privato sigillo. Nos autem tenorem premissor. predict. Ad requisitione mattornat. general domini regis, et domina reginæ proregno Hiberniæ. Duximus exemplificand. per præsentes. In cujus nei testimonium has litteras nostras fieri fecimus patentes. Testibus nobis ipsis apud Westmon. Quinto die Aprilis, annoq. regni eorum quarto.*

BRIDGES.

Examinat. { S. Keck. } *In Cancel.*
pernos. { Lacon William Childe } *Magistros.*

N. B. The military articles were not inserted, as they related to matters immediately to be

done, and have no relation to the present day. It has been said, that the first article, giving liberty to all persons, who might chose to do so, to go abroad; but there is reason to think this is much exaggerated, and that the Irish troops, who were not conveyed abroad, stayed at home, through choice, on account some jealousy their officers entertained, in consequence of hearing they should not retain their rank in the French service. This is similar to other numerous misrepresentations on the subject. Vide Ralph's History of England, Vol. II. p. 307, 308.

Burnet and other historians say, these articles were strictly complied with, though all the Protestants of Ireland cried out against them as too favourable.

An Act for the Confirmation of Articles *made at the Surrender of the* City *of* Limerick.

Whereas divers doubts have arisen on the articles made at the treaty, made for the late surand render of the city of Limerick, the third day of October, one thousand six hundred and ninety-one, and concerning the true intent and meaning of several parts thereof: And whereas your Majesty hath been graciously pleased to recommend

to your Parliament, that the said articles, or so much of them as may consist with the safety and welfare of your Majesty's subjects of this kingdom, may be confirmed by authority of this present Parliament, we the Lords spiritual and temporal, and the Commons in this present Parliament assembled, having due regard to your Majesty's honour for declaring the true sense and meaning of the said articles, and taking away all occasion of doubt for the time to come, do most humbly beseech your Majesty, that it may be enacted, and be it enacted, by the King's most excellent Majesty, by and with the advice and consent of the Lords spiritual and temporal, and Commons in this present Parliament assembled, and by authority of the same, that the second article, in the aforesaid articles mentioned, be and is hereby confirmed and ratified in the sense and intendment following, and no otherwise, (that is to say) that all the inhabitants or residents of Limerick, or any other garrison in the possession of the Irish, at the time of making the said articles, and all officers and soldiers then in arms, under any commission of the late King James, or those authorised by him to grant the same, in the several counties of Limerick, Clare, Kerry, Cork, and Mayo, and all the commissioned officers in the quarters of his Majesty, that belonged to the Irish regiments then in being, that

were treated with, and who were not prisoners of war, nor had at any time, before that time, enjoyed the benefit of protections, for the safety of themselves, or their goods, and families; which said officers, have in pursuance of the said articles, returned to their obedience, and submitted to his Majesty, and to her late Majesty Queen Mary, such inhabitants or residents of Limerick, or any other garrison aforesaid; such officers and soldiers respectively as aforesaid, and their and every of their heirs, shall hold, possess, and enjoy, all and every their estates of freehold and inheritance, and all the rights, titles, and interests, privileges and immunities, of the said estates of freehold and inheritance belonging, which they, and every or any of them held, enjoyed, or were rightfully and lawfully entitled to, in the reign of King Charles the Second, or at any time since by the laws and statutes that were in force in the said reign of King Charles the Second; and such possession as was given to the said inhabitants, officers and soldiers, in whose behalf the said articles were as aforesaid made, of lands then in his Majesty's hands, or in the hands of his tenants, by order of the then government under his Majesty, is, as to the possession only, and no more, confirmed and ratified by the authority of this present act, against his Majesty, his heirs, and successors; and all such

estates of freehold and inheritance, shall be freed and discharged; and, by the authority of this present act, are declared and enacted to be, and stand freed and discharged, of and from all arrears of crown rents, quit rents, and other public charges incurred, or become due, from and after the feast of St. Michael the Archangel, in the year of our Lord one thousand six hundred and eighty eight, to the day of the date of the said articles.

2d. Provided always, and be it enacted, by the authority aforesaid, that this act, or any thing therein contained, shall not extend or be construed to extend, to the aforesaid persons, in whose behalf the aforesaid articles were made, or any of them; but that the same shall extend, and be construed to extend, to the restoring the said persons, and every of them, to their said estates of freehold and inheritance, against his Majesty, his heirs and successors, in as large and amply manner as they should have enjoyed the same, had they not been guilty of the rebellion aforesaid, and not otherwise, or in any other manner; neither shall this act extend, or be construed to extend, to alter or avoid the possession of any such lands, tenements, or hereditaments, as have been recovered, or gained, by any of his Majesty's subjects, from or against the said persons, in whose behalf the said articles were made, or any of

them, at any time, since the date of the said articles; any thing in this act to the contrary, notwithstanding.

3d. And be it further enacted, by the authority aforesaid, that all and every person and persons comprehended in the said second article, in the said articles mentioned, shall have, hold, and enjoy, all his and their goods and chattels, real and personal, to them, or any of them, at the time of making the said articles belonging, and which then, or at at that time remained, either in their own hands, or in the hands of any other person or persons whatsoever in trust for them, or for the use of them or any of them; and the said goods and chattels, real and personal, as aforesaid, shall have, hold, and enjoy, against his Majesty, his heirs, and successors; and as for and concerning all other the goods and chattels, real and personal, which formerly did belong to, or were the property of, any of the said persons, comprehended within the said articles as aforesaid, at any time before the date of the said articles, which said goods and chattels, real and personal, had been at any time since the tenth day of April, one thousand six hundred eighty-nine, and before the date of the said articles, seised, sequestered, or by any manner of way taken to the use of his Majesty and her said late Majesty the Queen, by any sheriff, escheator, commissioner,

officer, civil or military, their ministers or servants, or any other person or persons whatsoever, and all other the goods and chattels of the said persons which were not in their own possession, or in the possession of any person or persons as aforesaid, in trust for them at the day of making the said articles, the same, by authority of this act, shall be deemed, vested, and adjudged to be in the actual and real possession of his Majesty, without any office or inquisition thereof, hereafter to be found or taken; saving to all and every person and persons, bodies politic and corporate, and to their successors, executors, administrators, and assigns, and to the successors, administrators, and assigns of every of them, other than the said persons, in whose behalf the said articles were made, and their executors, administrators, and assigns, claiming any thing in the said goods and chattels, real and personal, or any part thereof, as executors, administrators, or assigns, of the said persons in whose behalf the said articles were made, or any of them, and all and every other person or persons claiming or having any thing in the goods and chattels, real or personal, as aforesaid, seised, sequestered, or by any manner of way taken to the use of his Majesty as aforesaid, to the use of the persons in whose behalf the said articles were made, or any of them, or to the use of any of their executors and adminis-

trators, all such right, title, interest, possession, use, action, and means, to recover the same whatsoever, which they or any of them had, or ought to have in the premises, or any part thereof, against the said persons in whose behalf the said articles were made, ar any of them, in as large and ample manner, to all intent and purposes, as if this act had never been had or made, or any thing herein contained to the contrary notwithstanding.

4th. Provided always, that this act, or any thing therein contained, shall not extend to avoid any grant or grants, at any time heretofore made by his Majesty and the late Queen, of blessed memory, or by his Majesty, of any such goods and chattels, real or personal, hereby intended to be vested in his Majesty, as aforesaid; but that such grant and grants, respectively, shall be and remain in such force and effect, as if this act had not been made.

5th. Provided always, and be it enacted by the authority aforesaid, that no person or persons shall be construed to be restored, within the intent and meaning of the said articles, or of this act, who, at the time of their hearing their respective claims, to the benefit of the said articles, shall neglect or refuse to take the oaths of fidelity to his Majesty, mentioned in the said articles; nor to restore such, who, at the time of making

of the said articles, was or were out of the kingdom of Ireland; except such persons as are comprised in the fourth article of the said articles, made for the late surrender of Limerick; which said persons, in the said fourth article comprised, shall have the benefit of the said second article, in such manner and form as in and by this act is as aforesaid declared, and no otherwise.

6th. Provided the said persons, in the said fourth article named respectively, did return hither within the space of eight months, from the date of the said articles, and have, within that time, submitted to the government of his Majesty, and her late Majesty, the late Queen; and also, within that time, taken the oath of allegiance to his Majesty, and her late Majesty the Queen.

7th. Be it further enacted, by the authority aforesaid, that all merchants, or reputed merchants, inhabitants of the town of Limerick, or of any other garrison which, at the time of making the said articles, was possessed by the Irish, or of any town or places in the county of Clare or Kerry, who were absent beyond the seas, and that have not been in arms since the declaration made by his Majesty, and her late Majesty, Queen Mary, in February, one thousand six hundred eighty-eight, shall have the benefit of the second article, in manner and form aforesaid declared, in as large and ample manner as if such merchants,

or reputed merchants, had been present at the making said articles; provided such merchants, or reputed merchants, did repair into the kingdom within the space of eight months from the date of the said articles, and submitted himself or themselves to his Majesty, or her late Majesty's government.

8th. And be it enacted, by the authority aforesaid, that all and singular the persons already adjudged, or that shall hereafter be adjudged, to have been comprised within the second and third articles of the aforesaid articles of Limerick, shall, from henceforth, be deemed and taken to be, as to any prosecution, in the name and behalf of his Majesty, and of her late Majesty, or in the name and behalf of his Majesty, his heirs, and successors, fully and absolutely pardoned, by the authority of this act, of all attainders or outlawries in this kingdom, had or done, for all treasons, misprisions of treason, premunires, felonies, trespasses, and other misdemeanours whatsoever, by them, or any of them, committed or done, since the beginning of the reign of the late King James, to the third day of October, one thousand six-hundred and ninety-one.

9th. And be it further enacted, by the authority aforesaid, that from and after the expiration of two years, to be computed from the first day

of September, one thousand six hundred ninety-seven, no person or persons whatsoever shall be adjudged, deemed, or taken to be entitled to, or have the benefit of the said articles, who shall not be adjudged, within that time, to be comprehended therein.

10th. And whereas some questions or doubts have arisen, for and concerning the time of the beginning of the rebellion, or war, in this kingdom: be it enacted, by the authority aforesaid, that the said rebellion, or war, is hereby declared to have begun upon the tenth day of April, one thousand six hundred eighty-nine, the same being the day limited to the said rebels and traitors, by his Majesty, and her late Majesty's declaration, in February, one thousand six hundred eighty-eight, for the said rebels and traitors laying down of their arms, and accepting of their said Majesties' grace and mercy, on the terms in the said declaration proposed, and that no person or persons whatsoever, already adjudged, or that shall be hereafter adjudged, to be comprehended in the foregoing articles, shall be sued, molested, or impleaded at the suit of any party or parties whatsoever, for any trespasses, by the said persons, as aforesaid, comprised, committed, or done, at any time since the said tenth of April, one thousand six hundred eighty-nine, and before the date of the said articles, or for any arms,

horses, money, goods, chattels, merchandises, or provisions, whatsoever, by them seised or taken at any time after the said tenth day of April, one thousand six hundred eighty-nine, and before the date of the said articles, and no person or persons whatsoever, in the second or third articles comprised, shall be sued, impleaded, or made accountable for the rents, or mesne rates, or of any lands, tenements, or houses, by him or them received or enjoyed in this kingdom, since the said tenth day of April, one thousand six hundred eighty-nine, to the day of the date of the said articles, nor for any waste or trespass by him or them committed in any such lands, tenements, or houses, since the said tenth day of April, one thousand six hundred eighty-nine, and before the date of the said articles.

11th. And whereas it be necessary, that a time be limited for the bringing the said private actions for, or on account of, such wrongs and trespasses as aforesaid committed or done, by any person or persons, comprehended or claiming the benefit of said articles, since the said fifth day of November, one thousand six hundred eighty-eight, to the said tenth day of April, one thousand six hundred eighty-nine. Be it enacted, by the authority aforesaid, that it shall, and may be lawful, to and for such person and persons, as have had any wrongs, injuries, or trespasses, com-

mitted on them, by any of the persons aforesaid, since the said fifth day of November, one thousand six hundred eighty-eight, and before the tenth day of April, one thousand six hundred eighty-nine, to commence his or their action or actions against such trespasser or trespassers, wrong doer or wrong doers, at any time within the space of one year, to be accounted from the said first day of September, one thousand six hundred ninety-seven, and at no other time or times, after the expiration of the said year, any law or statute to the contrary, notwithstanding.

THE END.

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